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CRITICAL STUDIES IN THE
RUBÁ'ÍYÁT OF 'UMAR-I-KHAYYÁM
A REVISED TEXT WITH ENGLISH
TRANSLATION

BY

ARTHUR CHRISTENSEN



KØBENHAVN

HOVEDKOMMISSIONÆR: ANDR. FRED. HØST & SØN, KGL. HOF-BOGHANDEL
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PREFACE

The present work is an attempt at solving the problem of what is genuine and what is spurious in the Rubá'iyát of 'Umar-i-Khayyám. I have tried to show how a comparative study of the texts enables us to establish, with great probability at any rate, the genuineness of a number of the quatrains attributed to 'Umar-i-Khayyám. In the second part I give the Persian text of a selection of quatrains which, on the basis of the preceding inquiry, I consider as genuine, noting the various readings from all the texts at my disposal. To the text I add an English translation. As a means of controlling my critical researches I subjoin in an appendix a concordance of all the texts of which I have made use.

My sincere thanks are due to the staffs of the Bodleian Library, the British Museum Library, and the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, who have given me generous assistance and allowed me to take rotographs of all the MSS. which I needed for my purpose, further to the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, who most courteously sent a MS. to Copenhagen for my use, and above all to Dr. F. Rosenberg and the Asiatic Museum in Leningrad, who had the great kindness to send me of their own accord a rotograph of a newly acquired MS. of the Rubá'iyát. I am glad to record also

my great indebtedness to Professor R. A. Nicholson, Cambridge, for several valuable communications, and to Dr. Fr. Rosen who has kindly endeavoured to procure for me a rotograph of the MS. reproduced in his new edition of the Rubá'iyát; unfortunately his efforts failed, the MS. having in the meanwhile passed into other hands. Finally I wish to offer hearty thanks to Dr. Alf. Brahde who has kindly assisted me in turning the Persian verses into English.

ARTHUR CHRISTENSEN

GENUINE AND SPURIOUS QUATRAINS

The critical researches into the Rubá'iyát of 'Umar-i-Khayyám date from the year 1897, when Professor V. Zhukovski published an article on “‘Umar-i-Khayyám and the Wandering Quatrains”¹ in the Festschrift to Professor, Baron V. Rosen, entitled *Al-Mudhaffariyya*. Having pointed out that it is very unlikely that all the quatrains ascribed to 'Umar, and the tendency of which is so very different, should be productions of one and the same mind, he enumerates 82 “wandering quatrains” that are attributed to 'Umar as well as to other poets. The problems raised by Zhukovski were much discussed in the following years, notably by the late Professor E. G. Browne² and Dr. Ross³, but as for the question of the text of the Rubá'iyát the whole discussion did but lead up to the purely negative result that, in the existing texts, the oldest of which (Bodleian, Ouseley 140) was written nearly 350 years after the death of the poet, genuine and spurious quatrains are mingled together, and that neither the language and style of the quatrains nor their contents give us a means to determine what 'Umar might or might not have written.

¹ Translated by Dr., now Sir E. Denison Ross in the JRAS, 1898.

² JRAS, 1899, and “A Literary History of Persia”, II, pp. 246—259.

³ Messrs. Methuen's edition of FitzGerald's rendering of the Rubá'iyát, 1900.

In my book "Recherches sur les Rubā'iyāt de 'Omar Hayyām" (Heidelberg 1904) I reexamined the question. I added a series of "wandering quatrains" to those enumerated by Zhukovski, making the number amount to 101¹. I considered it most likely that either all or the greater part of these "wandering quatrains" were not composed by 'Umar, the copyers being inclined to increase the collection going by the name of that rubā'iyist "par excellence" by inserting quatrains taken from everywhere, so that a Cambridge MS. of comparatively recent date contains no less than 801 quatrains. Only twelve quatrains, in which the name of the poet is mentioned, could be considered as probably genuine, such verses being less liable to "wander", and the metre itself keeping within certain limits the commutation of names. But even this criterion is not safe; thus a quatrain ascribed to Afḍal-i-Káshí and containing his name in the first hemistich:

افضل دیدی که آنچه دیدی هیچ است

is to be found in the Rubā'iyāt of 'Umar-i-Khayyām with the following modification:

دنیا دیدی و هر چه دیدی هیچ است

The result of my inquiry was that we must regard the Rubā'iyāt of 'Umar-i-Khayyām as a characteristic expression of the Persian genius in all its different aspects: "C'est vraiment une œuvre nationale, que 'Umar-i-Khayyām a créée et que des générations postérieures ont affectionnée en secret et augmentée, mais de telle façon que les augmentations se tiennent essentiellement dans les mêmes cercles d'idées: c'est là l'effet d'un instinct psychologique qui ne s'explique que par l'affinité de leurs esprits hété-

¹ Later on I have found seven more.

rogènes avec l'œuvre hétérogène de 'Umar.' On one point only is it likely that our texts show us the poet in a false light: there are in the Rubá'iyát a good many mystical and pious quatrains, and the more the younger the texts are. A point of less importance is the insertion of a small number of erotic quatrains, a kind of poetry that seems actually alien to the nature of 'Umar.

Professor Browne, in the second volume of his admirable "Literary History of Persia", expressed a definite doubt as to the possibility of separating the true from the false in the Rubá'iyát: "The upshot of the whole inquiry is that, while it is certain that 'Umar-i-Khayyám wrote many quatrains, it is hardly possible, save in a few exceptional cases, to assert positively that he wrote any particular one of those ascribed to him" (p. 257). And Professor R. A. Nicholson says¹: "As time passed and the texts grew in size, larger accretions of alloy must have continually gathered round the true 'Umarian metal, which has come down to us indeed, but so effectually hidden that 'Umar himself might be puzzled to find it again."

Dr. Fr. Rosen, to whom we are indebted for a German translation of the Rubá'iyát of 'Umar-i-Khayyám², gave to the world, in 1925, a new edition of the Persian text after an old manuscript in the possession of a German lady.³ This manuscript contains 329 quatrains which are not arranged alphabetically, but the editor has re-arranged them alphabetically, according to the final and the initial letter. The copy is dated A. H. 721 (A. D. 1321) and if this date were true, the text should be 140 solar years older than

¹ Introduction to Messrs. A. & C. Black's edition of FitzGerald's translation of the Rubá'iyát.

² Die Sinsprüche Omars des Zeltmachers, 1900.

³ Berlin, Kaviani-Verlag.

the Bodleian MS. Ouseley 140; but the writing and the paper indicate a considerably later date, and Dr. Rosen supposes that the text is copied from a MS. written in the year A. H. 721, and that the copyer has reproduced the date of his original. There are a few miniatures in Indian style, from the 17th century or of an even later date, at the beginning and at the end of the MS., and one in the midst of the text, but that these miniatures are put in afterwards is evident from the fact that a quatrain has been obliterated in order to make room for one of the paintings, and then the initial verse has been written in the margin. Even if the date given in the MS. cannot be true, the copy is certainly old¹. To this text Dr. Rosen has added two smaller collections of quatrains of 'Umar, which have been communicated to him by Mirzá Muḥammad Khán-i-Qazvíní. One, being a fragment of an alphabetically arranged text, contains 63 quatrains and is dated A. H. 930 (A. D. 1523—24). The other comprises only 13 quatrains and is taken from a selection of verses of different poets made by the poet Muḥammad b. Badr-i-Jájarmí and written with his own hand in the year A. H. 741 (A. D. 1340—41), 123 solar years before the writing down of the Bodleian MS. This very small collection is now the oldest known text of the Rubá'iyát of 'Umar-i-Khayyám.

In an interesting introductory chapter, written in Persian and rendered in German in an article "Zur Textfrage der Vierzeiler Omar's des Zeltmachers" (ZDMG., 1926, p. 285 et seqq.), Dr. Rosen once more deals with the "wandering quatrains" and points out that the fact that a quatrain is ascribed at the same time to 'Umar and to another poet

¹ To judge from four leaves in facsimile, placed at the end of the edition, I estimate the date of the copy to be circiter A. D. 1500.

does not necessarily mean that 'Umar is not the author of the quatrain in question. Two quatrains which are ascribed to 'Umar and likewise to Tálib-i-Ámulí cannot be composed by the latter, for they occur in the Bodleian MS. from A.D. 1460–61, and Tálib died in 1625 or 1626. Only two out of sixteen quatrains that are ascribed to 'Umar and to Háfiz are to be found in a MS. of Háfiz' Díván from A.D. 1639, and none at all in one from about A.D. 1500. Of four quatrains attributed to 'Umar and to Jalálu'd-dín Rúmí not a single one exists in a Rúmí MS. from about A.D. 1500. Dr. Rosen emphasises the fact that some quatrains of which 'Umar as well as Háfiz are given as authors are very unlike the poetry of Háfiz in spirit and tone. To conclude: we are not justified in rejecting a priori as spurious a "wandering quatrain" that exists in the Rubá'iyát of 'Umar.

The author now proceeds to consider the twelve quatrains in which the name of Khayyám occurs. One of these (Heron-Allen, no. 22; Whinfield, no. 83) he regards as spurious, because the poet mentions himself as deceased, two others (Wh. 348 and 349), because they constitute a conversation between 'Umar and the Prophet, the first being the question asked by 'Umar, the second the answer of Muḥammad, and because there is no other example of such an enchainment of two rubá'ís. Moreover he feels inclined to reject two (Wh. 161 and 491) owing to a certain defectiveness in form and contents, and one (Wh. 82) on account of its occurrence in a rather old MS. of the Díván-i-Shams-i-Tabríz of Jalálu'd-dín (beginning with the words تَنِ صُورَتِ اِینِ خَيْمَان instead of خَيْمَان تَن; Dr. Rosen supposes that the comparison of the human body with a tent has induced a copyer to ascribe the quatrain to Khayyám ("the

tent-maker") and to interpolate that name. The six remaining quatrains may, according to Dr. Rosen's opinion, be considered as genuine. Further, two quatrains of 'Umar are quoted in the *Mirṣádu'l-'Ibád* of *Najmu-d-dín Rází* (A. D. 1223) and two in the *Nuzhatu'l-Arwáh* of *Shahrazúrí* (from the 13th century) and must be regarded as genuine in view of the age of these sources. Two others are quoted in a later historical work, the *Firdawsu't-Tawárikh* (A. D. 1405—06), but are not to be found in any known text of the *Rubá'iyát*; nevertheless, Dr. Rosen considers one of them — although found by Sir E. Denison Ross among the poems of *Saná'í* — as genuine, because it is also quoted as one of 'Umar's quatrains in the *Ta'ríkh-i-Guzída* of *Ḩamdu'lláh Mustawfí* (A. D. 1330). Finally, one of 'Umar's quatrains (Wh. 42) is quoted in the *Ta'ríkh-i-Jahán-gushá* of *Juwainí* (A. D. 1260) and, together with an Arabic translation, in an Arabic manuscript found by Dr. Mingana in the John Ryland's Library at Manchester. To these twelve quatrains Dr. Rosen adds the thirteen quatrains that constitute the selection of *Jájarmí* from A. D. 1340—41, this text being at any rate older than the date of composition of the *Firdawsu't-Tawárikh* and nearly as old as that of the *Ta'ríkh-i-Guzída*. As two out of the thirteen are among the twelve first mentioned rubá'ís, the total number of quatrains considered by the author as probably genuine is twenty-three.

Looking over Rosen's edition of the *Rubá'iyát* I made a discovery which impelled me to résume my inquiry into the question of the genuineness or spuriousness of the quatrains going under the name of *Khayyám*. I noticed that in the second of Rosen's three texts, the selection of A. D.

1523—24 (R II in my notation), the quatrains succeeded one another nearly in the same manner as in the Lucknow edition of A. D. 1894 (L II) and other modern editions that belong to the same group of texts. Thus R II nos. 1—3 is = L II nos. 152—154, R II 4—8 = L II 163—167, R II 9—14 = L II 172—177 and so on. Now, having examined the other texts at hand and having found that longer or shorter successions of quatrains were common to several of them, I asked myself whether it would be possible to establish the relationship between the texts — especially the older ones — by comparing the succession of the quatrains. I started on this new inquiry by getting copies or rotographs of the most important manuscripts of the Rubá'iyát which exist in the great libraries in Europe, and as I proceeded with my task, the basis of my research widened, so that the examination of the succession of the rubá'ís became but a link in a connected series of investigations.

In the concordance to the Rubá'iyát subjoined to my "Recherches" I made use of the following editions and manuscripts: Bodleian, Ouseley 140 (edition of Heron-Allen, 1898), Suppl. Pers. 823 (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris), Peterm. II. 56 and Ms. Orient. Fol. 246 in the Staatsbibliothek of Berlin, editions of Lucknow 1883 and 1894, of Bombay 1890 and of Stamboul 1901, and the editions of Nicolas (1867) and Whinfield (1883). Most of them will not be considered in the following examination. The Lucknow, Bombay and Stamboul editions, whose immediate sources are not known, contain such great numbers of quatrains that it must be supposed that their contents are collected from various sources. They are substantially identical as to their stock and the succession of the quatrains. To the same group belongs a Teheran edition

known to me only from the foot-notes given by Rosen in his edition. Whinfield's edition is based on that of Nicolas (which reproduces an older Teheran edition of an eclectic character) and enlarged from other sources¹. The Berlin manuscript MS. Orient. Fol. 246 has been disregarded, too, being rather modern (from the beginning of the nineteenth century) and not very valuable. In addition to the remaining three texts (Bodl. Ouseley 140, Suppl. Pers. 823 and Peterm. II. 56) and the three new texts given by Dr. Rosen, I have used for the present inquiry eight MSS. in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, the British Museum, the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and the Asiatic Museum in Leningrad, and the Calcutta edition of 1836. This last consists of two distinct texts, a main text of 438 quatrains, and a supplement of 54; both proved to be very useful for my purpose². In like manner, the text of the manuscript Supplement Persan 1417 in the Bibliothèque Nationale can be divided into two parts³, each of which is derived from a distinct source. In this text the quatrains are arranged alphabetically in the following way: under each final letter are given first, with a few exceptions, all the quatrains with this final letter which exist in the Bodleian MS. Ous. 140 and in the same alphabetical arrangement according to the initial letter as there, and then, secondly, a number of other quatrains with the same final letter but not arranged according to the initial letter.

¹ I am possessed of some other recent texts, which are not serviceable for my purpose: two small editions of Teheran, both from A. H. 1342, one containing 201, the other 340 quatrains, and the illustrated edition of Husayn-i-Dániš (1340 A.H. = A.D. 1922) comprising 396 quatrains, arranged according to the contents, and an ample introduction in Turkish.

² I designate the two texts: Calc. I and Calc. II.

³ BN IVa and BN IVb in my notation.

After these general remarks I give the list of my texts, eighteen in number, with the designations which will be used in the following inquiry:

Bodl. I. Bodleian Library, Ouseley 140, edited by Heron-Allen. Written A. H. 865 (A. D. 460—61). 158 quatrains in double alphabetical arrangement¹.

Bodl. II. Bodl. 367. The MS. is undated, apparently of the sixteenth century. On the first leaf is written in the hand of the renowned orientalist Thomas Hyde († 1703): Vita insignis Astronomi عمر خیام Omar Chiyyám Persice. Obiit anno Hegiræ 517. And below: Given to the Bodleian Library by the Rev.^d W. Deodatus Bye of Maidstone Kent if thought worth giving to it by Mr. Prof. Hunt². 406 quatrains in single alphabetical arrangement, but one leaf or a few leaves are wanting at the end, and between p. 33 v and 34 r a leaf is lost, so that the two first hemistichs of quatrain 316 are followed by two final hemistichs of another quatrain.

Br. M. I. British Museum, Or. 5966. No indication of date. The MS. is bound up with a Díván which is dated A. H. 977 (A. D. 1569—70) but the handwriting of the Rubá'iyát seems to be somewhat older, probably from the beginning of the 16th century. 269 quatrains in single alphabetical arrangement. From the rhyming letter ڻ to the end the number of the quatrains is very small in proportion to the whole stock.

Br. M II. Brit. Museum, Or. 331. Dated A. H. 1033 (A. D. 1623—24). 545 quatrains in single alphabetical arrangement.

¹ I call double alphabetical the arrangement according to the final and the initial letter, single alphabetical that according to the final letter only.

² Th. Hunt, Orientalist 1696—1774.

Br. M. III. Brit. Museum, Or. 5011. Dated A. H. 1079 (A. D. 1668—69). 400 quatrains in single alphabetical arrangement.

BN I. Bibliothèque Nationale, Ancien Fonds 349, ff. 181 v—210 v. Dated A. H. 902 (A. D. 1496—97). 213 quatrains, not alphabetically arranged.

BN II. Bibl. Nat., Suppl. Pers. 823, ff. 92 v—113 r. The following portion of the MS. as far as f. 124 is written by the same hand, and dated the 15th of Jumada II 934 (A. D. 1528). 349 quatrains, not alphabetically arranged.

BN III. Bibl. Nat., Suppl. Pers. 826, ff. 390 v—394 r. Dated A. H. 947 (A. D. 1540—41). Selection of 75 quatrains, not alphabetically arranged.

BN IV a. Bibl. Nat., Suppl. Pers. 1417, ff. 59—86. Copied in A. H. 879 (A. D. 1474—75) at Shíráz by Fakhru'd-dín el-Harawí. Comprising the quatrains 1—6, 9—33, 35—48, 64—100, 121—132, 136—142, 161—172, 184—190, 196—197, 200—208, 212, 217—228, 260—263, 265. 149 quatrains in all, in double alphabetical arrangement.

BN IV b. The same MS. The quatrains 7—8, 34, 49—63, 101—120, 133—135, 143—160, 173—183, 191—195, 198—199, 209—211, 213—216, 229—259, 264, 266—268. Selection comprising 119 quatrains in all, in single alphabetical arrangement.

BN V. Bibl. Nat., Suppl. Pers. 1481. Undated, apparently of the sixteenth century A. D. Selection of 34 quatrains in a single alphabetical arrangement which is not strictly maintained. The rhyming letters are very unequally represented, there being comparatively many quatrains with the letters *ت* and *ع*, and very few with the letters *س* and *ص*, which in most texts comprise the great bulk of the rubá'ís.

MA. A recently acquired MS. in the Asiatic Museum in

Leningrad, still without library mark. Undated, apparently of the sixteenth century A. D. The arrangement is single alphabetical. Some leaves are lost at different places, so that the first half of a quatrain written at the bottom of a verso-side does not correspond to the second half of a quatrain at the top of the next recto-side. Thus quatrains nos. 54, 154, 204, and 264 are to outward appearance composed of disparate parts. Catchwords have been added after the disappearance of these leaves. The last lacuna is very considerable: it begins in the rhyming letter *و* and ends in the midst of the letter *س*. Moreover f. 12 is put in reversely, with the verso-side in front. In its present state the MS. contains 290 quatrains.

Berl. Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, Or. Petermann II. 56, ff. 80 v—101. The manuscript is bound up with three other texts, of which the third, written in the same hand as the Rubá'iyát, is dated A. H. 1058 (A. D. 1648). Single alphabetical arrangement. The manuscript is very defective, ending abruptly in the midst of the rhyming letter *س*. In its present state it contains 238 quatrains.

Calc. I. The Calcutta edition of A. H. 1252 (A. D. 1836). Quatrains 1—438 in single alphabetical arrangement.

Calc. II. The same edition, quatrains 439—492. Selection of 54 quatrains in single alphabetical arrangement.

R I. The edition of Dr. Rosen of 1925. The main text, pp. 1—166. Reproduction of a MS. bearing the false date A. H. 721 (A. D. 1321), apparently from about A. D. 1500. In the original text, the quatrains are not alphabetically arranged, but the edition gives them in double alphabetical rearrangement, so that the original succession of the rubá'ís cannot be stated except in the case of the four pages reproduced in facsimile at the end of the book, viz. the first

and the last page and two pages taken from the middle of the MS.

R II. The second text in the edition of Dr. Rosen, pp. 169—190. From a copy of A. H. 930 (A. D. 1523—24). A selection of 63 quatrains in single alphabetical arrangement. Nos. 1—14 begin, every one of them, with the word sáqí.

R III. The third text in the edition of Dr. Rosen. From a copy of A. H. 741 (A. D. 1340—41). A selection of 13 quatrains without alphabetical arrangement.

It must be added, that I am not possessed of a complete copy or rotograph of Br. M II and the Calcutta edition. I have perused these texts during a short stay in London and noted down the beginning and the end of all the quatrains in each of them.

My first task was to identify the quatrains in the different texts and to set up a scheme in which every quatrain had its fixed number. I took as a basis the lithographed edition in my possession which contains the greatest number of quatrains, viz. the Lucknow edition of A. D. 1894 ("L II" in the concordance subjoined to my "Recherches", denoted here as "L"). Thus the 770 quatrains of that edition make up nos. 1—770 in my new list. A quatrain found in the Bombay edition of 1890, but not in L, follows as no. 771. The other quatrains of my eighteen texts, together with those of the editions of Nicolas and Whinfield which do not exist in L, form the rest of my list, nos. 772—1213. For practical reasons I have put these 441 quatrains in double alphabetical order, but owing to a few modifications effected at the revision of the list this order has been interrupted now and then. But the order is indifferent in itself, the main point being

this: to draw up a list from which it may be seen in what and how many texts every quatrain is represented, and in what succession the quatrains are given in each text. This new concordance is presented below in an appendix.

We now pass on to the examination of the texts. We have to compare the texts under three points of view: 1º the succession of the quatrains, 2º the entire stock of quatrains, 3º the variants.

Respecting the succession the texts fall into three classes, those with double alphabetical, those with single alphabetical, and those without any alphabetical arrangement. In the "double alphabetical texts", i. e. such texts in which the rubá'ís are arranged alphabetically according to the final letter of the rhyme, and all the rubá'ís having the same final letter are given in the alphabetical order according to the initial letter, the examination of the succession is useless: the sequence is previously given, and variation can only be due to errors in the arrangement or to the fact that one text has quatrains which are wanting in the others and vice versa, but in this latter case the question to be examined is not the succession, but the stock of quatrains. But in the "single alphabetical texts" the examination of the succession is a point of importance, because the order of the quatrains having the same final letter is free, so that the agreement or disagreement in the sequence may help us to determine the relationship between the texts.

The main texts of the single alphabetical kind are the following: Bodl. II, Br. M I, Br. M II, Br. M III, Berl. (defective), MA (defective) and Calc. I. Minor selections are: BN IVb, BN V, Calc. II and R II. To begin with the main texts, the arrangement of the quatrains in Bodl. II and

Calc. I indicates a very close relation between these two texts. The preserved part of Berl. and Br. M III come next to them. MA and Br. M I differ somewhat in the beginning, but later on the accordance is fairly good. The difference is a little greater in the case of Br. M. II. But as a whole all the main texts show an unmistakable conformity as to the arrangement. The case is obviously the same with the selection R II, and even in the selection BN V there are traces of the arrangement which is characteristic of this group of texts.

A few samples will serve as an illustration:

Fixed number	Bodl. II.	Calc. I.	Berl.	Br. M III.	MA.	Br. M I.	Br. M II.	BN V.	R II.
1	4	5	3	3	1	3	..	..	..
2	6	3	4	4	13	..	..	..	..
3	8	8	10	..	3	2	4	4	..
4	..	..	7	..	7	10	2	6	..
5	7	7	9	5	2	6	..	..	..
11	9	9	11	..	4	5	7	..	..
12	10	11	12	6	5	15	5	8	..
13	11	12	13	7	6	12	6	9	..
14	3	2	2	2	11	17	..	..	..
188	87	82	116	46	85	66	61	..	..
189	88	83	117	47	86	..	62	..	..
190	89	..	118	80	30	67	63	..	..
191	90	84	119	81	87	68	64	..	..
192	91	85	120	..	88	..	65	..	..
193	92	86	121	82	89	69	66	..	..
194	93	87	122	..	90	58	67	..	..
535	264	..	..	278	..	..	382	..	54
536	263	303	..	279	..	..	383	..	55
537	265	304	..	280	..	..	384	..	56
538	256	302	..	277	..	226	388	..	57
539	257	305	..	281	..	..	391	..	58

There is another fact which proves that the texts just mentioned form a special group. In Br. M I, Br. M III

and Bodl. II the collection opens with an anecdote: After the Death of 'Umar his mother saw him in a dream and asked about his fate, whereupon he quoted the following quatrain¹:

ای سوخته سوخته سوختنی
وای آتش دوزخ از تو افروختنی
تا کی گوئی که بر عمر رحمت کن
حقرا تو کشی برخمت آموختنی

"O thou who burnest [with grief] for one who burneth [in Hell] and deserveth to burn, o thou who shalt thyself feed the fire of Hell,

how long wilt thou say: "Mercy on 'Umar!" Who art thou in the face of God, to teach him mercy?"

The other texts do not give this story², but the quatrain in question is placed at the head of Calc. I and Berl., out of its alphabetical order. In MA and R II it is the last quatrain and, so to speak, strikes the closing chord. It is missing only in Br. M II and the minor selections. Per contra neither the anecdote nor the quatrain in question is to be found in any other of our texts.

To sum up our inquiry, we state that these nine texts are closely related inter se and must be derived from a common older text to which was prefixed, probably, the anecdote of the dream of 'Umar's mother.

Before going further, it will be proper to say something about the mode of proceeding of the Persian copyers. Sometimes the copier fairly faithfully transcribes one particular

¹ I have chosen the reading of R II.

² The Persian MS. no. 433 in the Asiatic Society's Library at Calcutta containing the Rubáiyát of 'Umar-i-Khayyám has the same introduction (vide the Catalogue of Ivanow, I, p. 193, and The Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám edited with an Introduction by Jessie B. Ritterhouse, Boston 1901, p. 9).

manuscript. If he has several copies before him, he may keep them distinct, or he may intermingle them without any system. The former method can be observed in BN IV: the copyer has written out a manuscript that was nearly identical with the only thirteen years older Bodl. I, but at the end of each rhyming letter in his main source he has inserted a series of quatrains taken from another manuscript. The latter method is more common. The copyer taking before him two or perhaps more manuscripts follows now one, now the other source, and in so doing he sometimes gives the same quatrain twice in his copy. In some cases the copyer has transcribed alternately two copies, as may be seen from the following instance:

Bodl. II.	Br. M II.
130	152
134	266
135	153
136	154
140	267
141	165
142	265
143	166
144	167

As a rule the transcriber adds here and there in his copy, from memory, other rubá'ís which circulate under the name of Khayyám. Sometimes such quatrains, whose rare occurrence in the texts gives evidence of their spuriousness, are put together to form a whole series. Thus nos. 156—182 and 206—233 in Berl. do not occur in any other of our texts, and likewise the first twenty nos. of R. II. Of such quatrains which are to be found in one text only, there are 23 in Bodl. II, 17 in Calc. I, 68 in Berl., 9 in Br. M III, 22 in MA, 33 in Br. M I, 57 in Br. M II, 4 in BN V and 21 in R II.

On the other hand, the copyer in transcribing his sources suppresses a greater or less number of quatrains. In some cases he has done so for reasons of space, his object being to give a limited number of quatrains or to fill up a certain number of leaves. The transcriber of Br. M I shortens his collection very considerably from the rhyming letter *و* to the end, and the copyer of BN V gives a comparatively ample series of quatrains with the two first rhyming letters, but then abridges. In other cases the copyer leaves out such quatrains which for some reason or other do not please him. We could not therefore infer a priori from the fact that a quatrain is missing in one or several texts belonging to the same family of manuscripts, that it does not belong to the original stock.

Instances of all kind of negligences may be found. Now and then the copyer intermingles two successive quatrains from his source; thus e. g. no. 299 in Br. M III is a combination of the first half of one quatrain and the second half of another, and these two quatrains are given in Calc. I as nos. 324 and 325. In almost all texts we find some quatrains in a wrong place, in the midst of quatrains with another rhyming letter.

We now turn to the examination of the total stock of our texts. If we compare all the main texts at hand from this point of view, we see that the texts hitherto considered form really a distinct group. A great many quatrains represented in most of these texts are wanting in all the other texts and vice versa. A glance at the list given in the appendix will suffice to show that this difference in the stock strikes much deeper than the difference between the main texts belonging to the single alphabetical group.

As regards the minor selections BN V and R II, their stock proves with certainty that they belong to the single alphabetical group. Of the 34 quatrains that constitute BN V only 5 are missing in the single alphabetical texts, but 18 are wanting in the non-alphabetical texts. Of the 63 quatrains of R II 21 are found only in this text, but the other 42 all of them exist in texts of the single alphabetical group, whereas only 22 are to be found in the non-alphabetical texts. The case of Calc. II is quite different. This text contains 54 quatrains, two of which are unique; of the other 52 only 15 exist in the texts of the single alphabetical group, of course because such quatrains as are contained in Calc. I, which belongs to the single alphabetical group, were not to be repeated in the supplementary text Calc. II; but the decisive point is this, that the total stock, all the 52 quatrains, are found in texts belonging to the non-alphabetical group. Consequently we must class Calc. II with the non-alphabetical texts. As to BN IV b this inquiry, too, proves fruitless. Of the 119 quatrains of this text 79 occur both in the single alphabetical and in the non-alphabetical texts; 25 are wanting in the former class, 31 in the latter, 16 in both.

We must now pass to a survey of the texts without alphabetical arrangement. The late Professor E. G. Browne, in discussing the verse-forms of the Persians, says¹: "... I should perhaps emphasise the fact ... that quatrains in the collected works of Persian poets, are never arranged otherwise than alphabetically, according to the final letter of the rhyme." This assertion, I think, is to be understood in this way, that if there be any arrangement at all, it must be an alphabetical one, for in many cases the order

¹ A Literary History of Persia, II, p. 35.

of the quatrains is quite fortuitous. In older manuscripts of the Díváns of Persian poets from the period before the thirteenth century, we shall find, that the rubá'ís are not arranged alphabetically. I have discussed this matter with M. E. Blochet, the author of the Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris who has made the same observation. M. Blochet draws the line between the older, non-alphabetical disposition of the rubá'ís and the later, alphabetical arrangement at the time of Sa'dí, and considers it most likely that the older order is chronological, that is to say, that the quatrains are given in the order in which they have been composed. Having submitted this question to fresh inquiry I have arrived at the conclusion that Sa'dí is in reality the first poet whose rubá'ís are generally arranged alphabetically, even in old manuscripts. Nevertheless, I have found an old manuscript of the Kulliát of Sa'dí¹ in which the rubá'ís are given without alphabetical arrangement. From the time of Sa'dí the alphabetical arrangement becomes more common, but it does not prevail all at once. In older manuscripts of the Díván of Háfiz, the new arrangement has not yet been adopted. I am inclined to think that the method of arranging the rubá'ís alphabetically has been introduced by Sa'dí himself at a date when copies of his Rubá'iyát without alphabetical arrangement were already in circulation. Later on the copyers have arranged alphabetically even the rubá'ís of poets from the period before Sa'dí.

From this state of things I draw the following conclusions as regards the Rubá'iyát of 'Umar-i-Khayyám :

¹ Acc. 1918. 6 in the Staatsbibliothek at Berlin. The MS. consists of an older and a younger part, and the Rubá'iyát belongs to the former, which is characterized as very old by the frequent employment of the letter ڻ after a long vowel at the end of a word.

1) The alphabetical arrangement of the quatrains must have been adopted at the latest at the beginning of the fifteenth century and most likely before A.D. 1400, for Bodl. I, which is dated 1460—61, has already the double alphabetical arrangement, which is, of course, later than the single alphabetical. Consequently the common source of the main texts of the single alphabetical group cannot be later than the beginning of the fifteenth century, but may be considerably older.

2) The non-alphabetical texts represent a textual tradition which is older than that of the single alphabetical texts, for the alphabetical arrangement, once adopted, has persisted. A copyer who transcribes a text of alphabetical arrangement does not take the trouble to alter the sequence of the quatrains. The original succession of the quatrains may be interrupted by carelessness in the transcription and by the insertion of foreign quatrains, but it will easily be recognized. The non-alphabetical texts must be offshoots from a textual tradition or textual traditions older than the common source of the single alphabetical texts. As a matter of course we must not infer from this fact that the readings must be more original in the non-alphabetical texts; of the two classes of texts one is just as liable to corruption as the other.

Five out of my eighteen texts belong to the non-alphabetical class, viz. BN I, BN II, and RI, and the two minor selections BN III and R III.¹ The original sequence of the quatrains in RI cannot be ascertained, as we know this text only through the edition of Rosen, in which the qua-

¹ I cannot say if there exist more MSS. of this class. At all events the great majority of MSS. of the Rubá'iyát which are preserved in the public libraries in and outside Europe belong to the single alphabetical group.

trains are rearranged. Between BN I and BN II there is an absolute disagreement as regards the sequence, and an examination of BN III and R III gives no evidence as to the question whether any of these selections is derived from a text related to BN I or to BN II.

But if the examination of the sequence leads to a purely negative result, we learn something by studying the total stock of the texts. On this point too, there is a considerable difference between BN I and BN II. These two MSS. have but 101 quatrains in common. 112 out of the 213 quatrains of BN I do not occur in BN II, and among the 349 quatrains of BN II, 248 are not found in BN I. Of the 329 quatrains of R I, only 94 occur in BN I; per contra R I has 263 quatrains in common with BN II. Thus there seems to be a closer relationship between these two texts, and this supposition is confirmed by the sequence of the quatrains contained in two of the four pages of the original MS., which are given in facsimile at the end of Rosen's edition. Here the sequence is as follows:

page 1: a = BN II, no. 3

b = — - 4

c = — - 1

page 2: a = — - 287

b = — - 288

c (wanting)

d = — - 292

The two other pages in facsimile give no evidence, because four of the six quatrains here represented do not occur at all in any of the other non-alphabetical texts.

The selection BN III shows this peculiarity that nearly half of its stock, no less than 37 out of its 75 quatrains, do not occur in any other text, either non-alphabetical, or

alphabetical. Of the other 38, 37 are found in BN II or in RI, most of them in both, but only 18 in BN I. Thus it is highly probable that BN III belongs to the same family as BN II and RI.

Now we may ask whether BN I, which differs so much from BN II, RI, and BN III, both as to the sequence and as to the total stock, is really connected with that family or not. At all events it is obvious that BN I cannot be classed together with the single alphabetical texts, for the number of quatrains which it has in common with that group is much smaller than that which it has in common with the BN II family. But there is one important fact which seems to show that BN I is related, though somewhat distantly, to the BN II family. Quatrain no. 314 in my list occurs in all the three main texts of the non-alphabetical class (BN I, BN II and RI) in a peculiar form, enlarged by the insertion of four small verse-lines having their own rhyme, a peculiarity of which no other instance is known to me. The poem runs as follows:

عید آمد و کارها نکو خواهد کرد
 چون روی عروس
 ساق می لعل در سبو خواهد کرد
 چون چشم خروس
 افسار نماز و پوزه بند روزه
 یکبار دگر
 عید از سر این خران فرو خواهد کرد
 افسوس افسوس

The [Bairam] festival has come, and it will make every thing fair
 like the face of the bride.

The Sáqí will pour out in the pot ruby wine
like the eye of the cock.

The festival will remove from the heads of these asses
once more

the halter of prayer and the muzzle-strap of fasting.
Alas ! Alas !¹

From all these facts we may infer, that the three non-alphabetical main texts are derived from a common source, but in such a way that BN I represents a special textual transmission within the group.

Now the question will naturally suggest itself whether it is possible, in the case of the non-alphabetical texts, to show some principle of arrangement. The opinion of Browne notwithstanding, there are texts of the Rubá'iyát which show an arrangement other than the alphabetical, viz. an arrangement according to the contents. To begin with BN III, the three first quatrains of that manuscript are inscribed *dar tauhíd*, "On the declaring [God] to be one", and the following four *dar na't*, "On the praise [of God]". But then the scribe has abandoned any further attempt to indicate the contents. In BN II there are no headings, but it is evident that this MS., too, represents a type of texts in which the quatrains are classified according to subjects. Such a classification is rather difficult to carry through, because several ideas are often combined in one quatrain. The copyers, therefore, have occasionally had recourse to another principle of arrangement, grouping

¹ For the translation of the latter half of this poem, which presents some difficulty, I am indebted to the kindness of Professor R. A. Nicholson. It occurs in three texts of the single alphabetical group (Br. M II, Br. M III and MA) and in BN IV b, but as a common rubá'i, without the additions. It is found once more in BN I, as no. 45, without the additions, and with the variant *Khayyám² šaráb* instead of *sáqí mai-yi-la'l*.

together such quatrains whose subject so to speak is concentrated in a single characteristic word. In BN II nos. 1—6 treat of sin against God and the hope of forgiveness, and in four of these quatrains the word karam, "mercy" occurs. Sin, mercy and supplication are again the theme of nos. 9—14, and 15—19 treat of the will of God, inexorable Fate, and the impotence of man (in 15 and 16 we find the word dast, "hand", in 17—19 the words wujúd, "existence", and maujúd, "existent"). Nos. 34, 36, 37, 39—47 and 50 contain reflexions on charkh, "the wheel", charkh-i-falak, "the wheel of Heaven". In nos. 99—108 the poet reflects on kúza, "the bottle" or "pot" (kásá, "the cup" in 109—10). These twelve quatrains actually form a Kúza-náma, although they are not linked together as in the case of the Kúza-náma of FitzGerald. Nos. 139 and 140 begin with the words án qásr, "that castle", 196 and 197 with the words gúyand^a bihisht, "they say that Paradise ..." In nos. 201—205 the name of the poet, Khayyám, is mentioned. The last quatrains, from no. 206 to no. 348 treat, almost without exception, of wine, the series 281—286 beginning each one with the words mai khur, "drink wine" or mai khurdan, "wine-drinking".

As to R I, the pages in facsimile given by Rosen show, as has been said, that its original arrangement was, as a whole, like that of BN II. But as regards BN III, of which something has already been said, it seems that the copyer of this selection has made extracts from two MSS. belonging to the type here in question; three quatrains are repeated at different places. There are traces of the same arrangement which we have found in BN II. Nos. 9—11 begin with the words dídam murghí, "I saw a bird", 12—13

with the words *án qaṣr*, "that castle"; nos. 26 and 27 contain the name *Khayyám*, 40 and 41 the word *dilbar*, "the heart-robber", 42—44 the word *zulf*, "the lock of hair", 45 and 46 the word *máh*, "the moon"; nos. 70—72 treat of the *kúza*. Remnants of this older arrangement by catch-words are to be found now and then in the single alphabetical texts; thus, for instance, the quatrains ending with the words *ai sáqí*, "O skinker", form a consecutive series under the rhyming letter *ς* in most of the texts of that group.

BN I is the only one of our texts in which there is no trace whatever of any principle of arrangement, and the sequence of the rubá'ís seems quite arbitrary. In other words, this one MS. gives us the quatrains, in the main, in their original order, for a Persian copyer of quatrains can put a rubá'í in a wrong place by inadvertence, he can omit some rubá'ís and insert some others from a different source or from memory — and even in BN I there are a good deal of spurious additions —, but he does not alter a fortuitous order for the purpose of producing another order that is quite as fortuitous. The supposition that the sequence of the quatrains is more primitive in BN I than in the BN II group is confirmed by yet another fact. As has been said, the enlarged quatrain no. 314 is represented in BN I, BN II and R I, but in BN I only it is the last quatrain of the whole collection, and this just accounts for its peculiar and unique form. In BN II this quatrain is placed in the midst of the collection, and as for R I, known to us only in the rearrangement of the editor, the last page of the MS., which is given in facsimile, does not contain this quatrain (no. 131 in the edition).

We now return to the selections Calc. II and BN IV b.

To determine the place of Calc. II in our scheme is easy enough. As has been shown previously, it must be classed with the non-alphabetical texts. Of its 54 quatrains 43 occur in BN II, 47 in R I, but only 8 in BN I. Accordingly Calc. II must be considered as an alphabetically rearranged selection from a text related to BN II and R I. As regards BN IV b, the single alphabetical text with which it has most quatrains in common, viz. Calc. I, contains 77 of its quatrains; of the non-alphabetical texts, BN II has 67 rubá'ís in common with BN IV b, BN I having but 11. Thus if BN IV b is really to be classed with the non-alphabetical texts, a question still undecided, it cannot belong to the group represented by BN I.

The texts with double alphabetical arrangement have hitherto been left out of consideration. Excepting always R I, whose double alphabetical arrangement is due to the modern editor, we have but two texts of that description, viz. Bodl. I and BN IV a. If we examine Bodl. I in respect to its total stock, we see that 21 of its 158 quatrains occur only in this text and in BN IV a. Of the other 137, 102 are found in one or several of the single alphabetical texts (87 in Br. M II which has most quatrains in common with it) and 115 in the non-alphabetical texts, of which BN I has 89 and BN II 99 quatrains in common with Bodl. I. As Br. M II contains in all 545 quatrains, BN I only 213 and BN II 349, the percentage is by far the greatest in the case of the two last-mentioned texts, and accordingly the balance of evidence is that Bodl. I belongs to the non-alphabetical class, and this supposition is supported by the fact that Bodl. I begins with two quatrains, taken out of their alphabetical order, of which one is also found among the first quatrains in BN II and R I, being no. 4 in

BN II and no. 2 in the original of R I, as may be seen from the first page in facsimile.¹ Thus, Bodl. I is probably to be classed with the BN II group of the non-alphabetical texts.

BN IVa is very closely related to Bodl. I, containing in the main the same quatrains in the same succession. It opens with the same two quatrains, taken out of their alphabetical order. There are, however, a few differences. To the series no. 37—40 in Bodl. I correspond in BN IVa the nos. 40, 42, 41, 43, to the series no. 75—77 in Bodl. I the nos. 100, 88, 89 in BN IVa, after which the sequence is again the same in the two texts; to nos. 155—157 in Bodl. I correspond nos. 262, 265, 263 in BN IVa. Quatrains 63, 70, 71, 72, 74, 86, 113, 117, 158 of Bodl. I are wanting in BN IVa.

As regards R III, the material for comparison is so scanty that we cannot draw any sure conclusion from it. This text contains but thirteen quatrains in all, three of which do not exist in any other of our texts; the remaining ten are represented in almost the same proportion in the two classes of texts: eight occur in both classes, one in the single alphabetical class only, and one in the non-alphabetical class only.

Before passing on to the third point in our inquiry, the various readings, we shall take the opportunity to enter upon the question, whether it may be supposed that a religious tendency has given rise to alterations in the textual tradition. There is ample evidence that the audacity in matters of religion which finds expression in many of the rubá'ís has embarrassed the copyers. On the other

¹ The other quatrain, wanting in BN II, occurs in R I, but its place in the original cannot be established.

hand, there lies in the national character of the Persians, besides an inclination to religious fanaticism, a certain predisposition to ideas of revolt, whether they be directed against the oppressors of this world or against the tyranny of religious dogmas. Such disrespectful thoughts have a fascinating effect on the mind of the Persian, especially when clad in a poetical garb that appeals to his esthetic feeling. With naïve cunning he tries to cheat himself and other people as to the scope of the disrespectful boldness, so that he may enjoy with safety of mind the hazardous verses. To the copyers of the Rubá'iyát two means of safeguarding their conscience presented themselves, and they have made use of both of them. To the originator of the arrangement according to the contents the mode of proceeding was given with the method of arrangement. The collection opens with a series of pious and mystical quatrains, and on this point in particular the scribes have made no scruple of falsifying the original Rubá'iyát by inserting a great number of spurious quatrains. The poet being thus at the start presented to the readers as a pious-minded man and a Súffí, they may, with a little willingness, assign a mystical and allegorical meaning to the audacious quatrains given afterwards. Even in the double alphabetical texts, Bodl. I and BN IVa, two quatrains of apparently pious content are, as said, taken out of their alphabetical order to serve as an introduction.

The other method has been employed by the author of the ancestor-text of the single alphabetical group. He has from the very beginning given up every attempt to present 'Umar in the cloak of the pious preacher. No, 'Umar was a godless poet and therefore fallen to damnation. To illustrate this point of view the collection opens

with the ridiculous anecdote of the dream of 'Umar's mother after the death of her son. As, according to the legendary tradition of the Persians, 'Umar died at the age of 106, his mother must have been well on in years to survive him. Now that the reader knows that the poet burns in Hell, he may peruse the whole collection with abhorrence and with a pious shudder in order to convince himself of his utter depravity. Generally speaking, both the one and the other of these methods permit the copyer to reproduce the audacious quatrains without altering their wording.

In almost every quatrain we find various readings in the texts. Of course we leave out of consideration false spellings and such obvious errors as betray themselves by spoiling the metre or the rhyme. As the scribe has often made use of two or more MSS., the variants are not always a sure criterion as to the relationship between the texts, but combined with the preceding examination of the sequence and the total stock a survey of the various readings may be useful.

First and foremost we learn from a comparative study of the various readings that the two groups of texts which we have hitherto designated as the non-alphabetical and the single alphabetical group and shall in the following call group A and group B respectively, actually constitute two distinct textual traditions. A few examples will suffice to show this. In no. 409 of my list, the texts of group A (BN II and RI) have in the third hemistich:

خَرْمَ دَلْ آنکسَى كَه مَعْرُوف نَشَد

whereas group B has (with a little variation in Bodl. II):

خَرْمَ دَلْ آنکَه يَكْنَفْس زَنْدَه نَبَود

In no. 198. 3, group A has از نامده، B: از آمده; 198. 4, A: خوش باش که از وجود، B: حالی خوش باش دانکه (BN I, BN II, RI, Bodl. I, BN IVa) has دستگه، B: دستگه. In no. 22. 3, A has هست مقیم، B: روشن هست. In no. 358. 2, A has دردست اجل، B: درچنگ اجل. Further no. 51. 1, A: می، B: باده; no. 74. 4, A: امل، B: قضا; no. 188. 2, A: همدم، B: باده; no. 188. 4, A: پژمرد، B: لاله که پژمرد; no. 191. 2, A: گلرنگ، B: نسیم، B: شبنم. Other examples are found in nos. 80, 229, 462, 472, 634.

If we compare the texts of group A with each other, we see that the accordance between BN II and RI is, on the whole, rather good. In no. 527 these two texts have in the third and the fourth hemistich common readings differing from those of all the other texts. I can say nothing about the readings in Calc. II, not being possessed of a copy of this text. As to BN I, it cannot be doubted that it belongs to group A; nevertheless there are a few instances of readings in common with group B (nos. 454 and 697), and in some cases (nos. 29, 209, 424) it has readings of its own, differing from the other texts of both groups. The readings of Bodl. I and BN IVa are generally the same as those of BN II; I have found only one case (no. 84) where they follow BN I in a slight variation from BN II. BN IVa only differs in a very few cases from Bodl. I, thus in no. 158. 1 and no. 110. The latter instance is rather curious; BN IVa, but not Bodl. I, mingles together in an almost absurd manner no. 110 and no. 81, and just the same confusion is found in one of the texts of group B, viz. Br. M III.

BN V and R II have in most cases readings in common with group B. There are also differences between the texts of this group, but these variations seem rather inci-

dental and do not help us to establish subgroups. All told, the examination of the variants confirms the correctness of the grouping previously established.

Two texts only have not yet found their place in the scheme: BN IV b and R III. The examination of the variants shows that the former belongs to group A, although it has in some cases readings in common with group B. But as not a few instances of independent readings occur, BN IV b must be considered as representing a special subdivision of group A. As to R III, even this inquiry does not give conclusive results. Of the eight quatrains of R III which occur in both groups, four do not contain variants of any consequence. In one quatrain (no. 104 of my list), R III follows group B; in two others (nos. 247 and 537) it seems more closely related to group A, but has also some independent readings. In one quatrain again (no. 474), R III shows a characteristic deviation from the texts of both groups. The common reading in the first hemistich is as follows:

خیام زمانه از کسی دارد نگ

but R III has instead of ایام خیام, and this is probably the original reading, the substitution of the name Khayyám being an almost inevitable "betterment"; but this is, of course, no reason for considering the quatrain spurious. As will be seen from these few observations, there are some indications that R III represents an independent textual transmission.

The upshot of our investigations is the following scheme which is, I think, fairly conclusive in the details except for the placing of R III:

- A {
 - 1. BN I.
 - 2. Main texts: BN II, R I.
Greater selections: Bodl. I, BN IV a.
Smaller selections: Calc. II, BN III.
 - 3. Selection: BN IV b.
- B {
 - Main texts: Bodl. II, Calc. I, Berl. (defective), Br. M III,
MA (defective), Br. M I, Br. M II.
 - Selections: BN V, R II.
- C Selection: R III.

Of the different methods of arrangement the latest of date is the double alphabetical arrangement, represented by Bodl. I (A. D. 1460—61) and BN IVa (A. D. 1474—75), this presupposing the existence of an earlier single alphabetical arrangement. This older stage is represented by all the texts constituting group B, the common source of which can hardly be later than the commencement of the fifteenth century, but may be considerably earlier. Older than the single alphabetical arrangement is the arrangement according to the contents known from the two main texts BN II and R I, together with which must be classed BN III and the rearranged texts Bodl. I, BN IVa, Calc. II. Still older is the purely fortuitous order we find in BN I, this being in the main the same order in which the quatrains were collected for the first time.

From this state of things I draw the conclusion that, if a quatrain is so amply represented in texts of both groups A and B, that we can be sure that it has been in their common source, its existence in the Rubá'iyát of 'Umar-i-Khayyám is warranted for so early a date that we may safely consider it genuine. Some spurious rubá'í or

other may already have slipped into the collection, but we have good reason to consider such a sifted text as a whole not less authentical than our standard texts of the Sháhnáma and other Persian poetical works from the earlier period. In how many of our texts a quatrain must be represented in order to be included in our sifted text is of course a matter of opinion, but I think I am on the safe side when I observe the following rules: a quatrain is considered genuine, if it is found, 1°, in at least five texts of the group B, except in the case of those rhyming letters which are wholly or partially unrepresented in both of the defective texts Berl. and MA (i. e. numbers 448—771 of my text), four texts being considered sufficient in that part of the collection, and 2°, in two texts of the subgroup A₂ + BN I or BN IV b or R III, or in one text of A₂ + two out of the texts BN I, BN IVb and R III, or in four texts of A₂, if it does not occur in any of the three other texts.

Now we have but to run over the list¹ and pick out the quatrains which verify these conditions. By so doing we obtain a collection of 121 quatrains². Of course it is possible and even very likely that there are genuine quatrains among those not included in this collection, but the line must be drawn somewhere, and I do not think it safe to go below the indicated minimum.

I consider as decidedly spurious all the quatrains which occur only in one of our texts, even if they are found in the collections of Nicolas and Whinfield and in the Lucknow edition and other modern printed or lithographed texts.

¹ Vide Appendix.

² One quatrain, no. 474, has been included although it only occurs in three texts of group B; it is represented, on the other hand, in BN I, BN IVb, two texts of the sub-group A₂, and R III.

Of the 1213 quatrains of my list about 500 belong to that category. As to the quatrains occurring only in texts of one of the two great text-groups, it is odds on their being spurious.

Of the 158 quatrains given in the old MS. Bodl. I, 20¹ exist only in this text and, for the greater part, in the closely related text BN IVa, whereas 19² occur also in other texts of the subgroup A₂, but not elsewhere.

Finally I shall examine, by applying my method, the 23 rubá'ís considered by Dr. Rosen as probably genuine³.

Six of the twelve quatrains containing the name of Khayyám:

1. No. 82 of my list. Occurs in 4 texts of group A (subgroup A₂) and 1 text of group B. Uncertain.
2. No. 214. Exists in A₁, 4 texts of A₂, 6 texts of B. Genuine.
3. No. 454. A₁, 5 texts of A₂, 5 texts of B. Genuine.
4. No. 617. A₁, 2 texts of A₂, 4 texts of B. Genuine.
5. No. 674. 1 text of B. Spurious.
6. No. 474. A₁, 2 texts of A₂, A₃, 3 texts of B, and R III. Genuine.

Two quatrains quoted by Najmu'd-dín Rází:

7. No. 45. 2 texts of A₂, 4 texts of B, R III. Genuine.
8. No. 103. 2 texts of A₂, 7 texts of B. The quotation by Rází compensating for the insufficient representation of the group A, the quatrain must be considered genuine.

¹ Nos. 3, 16, 28, 45, 54, 63, 66, 70, 74, 83, 88, 92, 98, 117, 118, 119, 125, 148, 154, 158.

² Nos. 13, 30, 39, 46, 48, 53, 67, 73, 80, 82, 84, 93, 95, 108, 109, 126, 132, 145, 147.

³ See supra, p. 11—12.

Two quatrains quoted by Shahrazúrí¹:

- 9. No. 316, 1 text of A₂, 2 texts of B. Uncertain.
- 10. No. 254. A₁, 2 texts of A₂. Uncertain.

A quatrain quoted in the *Firdawsu't-Tawárikh* and by Ḥamdu'lláh Mustawfí:

- 11. A "wandering quatrain", also ascribed to Sanáí. Does not occur in any of our texts. Certainly spurious².

A quatrain quoted in the *Tárikh-i-Jahán-gushá*:

- 12. No. 40. 4 texts of A₂, 6 texts of B. Genuine.

The thirteen quatrains of the oldest text of the Rubá'iyát, R III, two of which, the eighth and the eleventh, are among those enumerated above (6 and 7).

- 13. No. 247. (R III. 1). A₁, 2 texts of A₂, 6 texts of B. Genuine.

14. No. 927 (R III. 2). Does not occur in any other text. Spurious.

- 15. No. 431 (R III. 3). A₁, 1 text of A₂, 5 texts of B. Genuine.

16. No. 537 (R III. 4). A₁, 3 texts of A₂, 6 texts of B. Genuine.

- 17. No. 104 (R III. 5). A₁, 3 texts of A₂, 7 texts of B. Genuine.

18. No. 706 (R III. 6). A₁, 5 texts of A₂, 6 texts of B. Genuine.

¹ In the Arabic text the mention of 'Umar-i-Khayyám concludes with three short Arabic qaṣidas ascribed to Khayyám, whereas the Persian translation consulted by Zhukovski after an apparently unique MS. in the Asiatic Museum substitutes the two Persian quatrains in question. But about the time of the composition of this translation or the date of the MS. no information is given in Sir Denison Ross's rendering of the article of Zhukovski.

² This is equally the case with the other quatrain quoted in the *Firdawsu't-Tawárikh*, which Dr. Rosen, too, rejects as spurious.

19. No. 1007 (R III. 7). Does not occur in any other text. Spurious.
20. No. 808. (R III. 9). Does not occur in any other text. Spurious.
21. No. 433. (R III. 10). 4 texts of B. Uncertain.
22. No. 1116. (R III. 12). Does not occur in any other text. Spurious.
23. No. 723 (R III. 13). A₁, 1 text of A₂, A₃, 4 texts of B. Genuine.

Of the 23 quatrains 13 are genuine, 4 uncertain and 6 spurious.

As regards the six quatrains containing the name of Khayyám which Dr. Rosen considers as decidedly or probably spurious, the state of the matter is as follows:

1. No. 100. A₁, A₃, 7 texts of B. Uncertain.
2. No. 74. A₁, 5 texts of A₂, 5 texts of B. Genuine.
- Dr. Rosen does not accept this quatrain as genuine, because the poet mentions himself as deceased, but in my opinion it must be considered as the author's poetical epitaph over himself, a sort of literary fiction not uncommon in the history of poetry.
3. No. 932. 2 texts of B. Spurious.
4. and 5. Nos. 1056 and 1057 (Whinfield nos. 348 and 349). Do not occur in any of our texts. Spurious.
6. No. 1132. 1 text of A₂. Spurious.

To the number of rubá'ís of Khayyám quoted by authors from a comparatively early period two more can be added. One of them (no. 723 in my list) is quoted in the *Akhláqu'l-Ashráf* of 'Ubaid-i-Zákání († A.D. 1371); it is found on p. 11 in the Constantinople edition of the selected works of this poet. Of the other (no. 114) the first hemistich only is quoted in the *Risála-i-Dílgushá* of

the same author (p. 91 of the Constantinople edition). 'Ubaid-í-Zákání, as is his wont, does not mention the name of the poet quoted, but none of the two quatrains in question having been, as far as I know, ascribed to other poets than Khayyám, we have no reason to doubt that the Rubá'iyát of Khayyám is actually the source of his quotation.

No. 723 occurs in A₁, 1 text of A₂, A₃, 4 texts of B, and R III. Genuine.

No. 114 occurs in 2 texts of A₂, A₃, 7 texts of B. Genuine.

THE PERSONALITY OF 'UMAR-I-KHAYYÁM THE POET

Before the question of the genuineness of the quatrains has been settled, it is of course impossible to convey a just idea of 'Umar as a poet. We can discuss the spirit of the so-called Rubá'iyát of 'Umar-i-Khayyám, but nothing more. "The safe course is — to quote the words of Otto Rothfeld¹ — to include in the text all that cannot at once be excluded, but to read the text with the knowledge that some at any rate — perhaps a large number — are not the poet's work, though all of his must be in the collection." The 121 quatrains selected according to the principles resulting from the preceding inquiry certainly do not include all the verses composed by 'Umar, and it is not impossible, on the other hand, that there may be among them a few spurious quatrains, which have found their way into the collection at an early date, but at all events the text here

¹ Umar Khayyam and his Age (London 1922), p. 56.

given is more authentical than that of any particular manuscript or printed edition, and I venture to say that it enables us to form for the first time a fairly reliable conception of the personality of 'Umar as it manifests itself through his poetry. I see a proof of the correctness of my method in the fact that my selection, produced as it is by a merely mechanical procedure, does really show an individual physiognomy, the variety of ideas and feelings being by no means too great to be contained in one mind, and even in a not very complex nature.

First and foremost we state the almost complete absence of the mystical element. There is but one quatrain in which the resignation to the will of God is expressed in the very manner of the Súfí poets, viz. no. LII¹:

If I tell Thee my secrets in the tavern, it is better than to perform the prayer in the prayer-niche without Thee.

O Thou, the beginning and the end of all creation, burn me, if such be Thy will, cherish me, if such be Thy will!

This quatrain may be an early interpolation, or, if it be genuine, we must regard it, I think, not as an expression of the frame of mind of 'Umar, but as a piece of evidence as to the prevalence of Súfí phraseology as a literary form already at the time of 'Umar. Our poet, now and then, makes use of phrases taken from the terminology of the mystics, such as *zabán-i-ḥal* etc. In a few quatrains he deals with thoughts which belong to the commonplaces of the Súfís:

In cell and college and monastery and synagogue there are fearers of Hell and seekers of Paradise.

The person who has knowledge of the secrets of God sows nothing of this seed within his heart. (No. XXIX).

¹ In the present chapter I quote the quatrains according to their number in my selection.

Everyone into whose heart love and friendship have been kneaded, be he one of the people of the prayer-mat or one of the people of the church,

Everyone whose name is entered in the account-book of love is free from Hell and independent of Paradise. (No. LXXIX).

But if the wording reminds us of the language of the Súfís, the idea that hope of Paradise and fear of Hell do not bear testimony to an illuminated mind is not exclusively súfíc. Ethical ideas, which 'Umar has in common with the Súfís, are pushed to an extreme and expressed in a humorous form not commonly met with in the Súfi poets in the following verses :

Do not follow the Sunna and do not care for the commands of faith, but withhold not from anyone that morsel which thou hast in possession.

Speak not slander, nor afflict the heart of anyone, then I warrant thee the world beyond. Bring wine! (No. XVI).

.... Hear then this true word from 'Umar-i-Khayyám: "Drink wine, be a highwayman, but do good." (No. LVII).

There is a fundamental pessimism in the lyricism of 'Umar. Happy is the heart of the man whom nobody knows and at peace the man who was never born of a mother, and who came never into this inn with the two gates (that of birth and that of death), this saltmarsh where our outcome is nothing but to suffer grief and to uproot one's soul¹. If the choice were his, he had not come², but once come he would not depart, for we cleave to life in spite of all. But we have no choice and no will, we are but the pieces in the game which Heaven plays on the chessboard of existence, and we must go back to the box of non-existence, when the game is at an end.³ The pen of destiny has written good and evil for us⁴, but more evil than good. The wheel of Heaven is full of hatred and aims

¹ CIII and CXII. ² XXXIV. ³ VI. ⁴ XCI.

at our pure souls¹. The heavenly vault is like an inverted bowl under which all the wise men have become helpless captives². More than others, perhaps, the wise men are the object of the hatred of Heaven; but why, then, does it give advice to those who are immune to advice? "If thou fanciest ignoramuses and good-for-nothings", he exclaims in a frolic, "lo! I am not such a good and wise man either."³ But why do we quarrel with the wheel of Heaven? In the way of reason the wheel is a thousand times more helpless than we are⁴.

Thus the complaint, now more personal, becomes a bitter charge against God, against Him who built the earth and the sky and all the heavens, and marked the sorrowful hearts with many a brand.⁵ If the result of His creation was good, why then break it up? and if not, who is to blame in the matter?⁶ And not only does He destroy His own creation, but He will even damn us to be burnt in Hell, although when moulding our clay, He knew what would be the outcome of our actions, and not one of our sins is committed without His order.⁷ Perhaps, however, we trouble ourselves without reason; God is merciful, it is said. As 'Umar cried shame on the drunken old man, he got the answer: "Mercy comes from God. Drink wine and be silent."⁸ But the naïve old man has misunderstood the notion of mercy. We do not get mercy gratuitously. "If Thou givest us Paradise as a reward for our obedience, it is a mere bargain, but where is then Thy mercy and beneficence?"⁹ Such reflexions help us to comprehend the wily satire contained in these apparently pious verses about the Divine Unity (*tawhíd*):

¹ XXXV and LXXVIII. ² XLIII. ³ XXIV. ⁴ LXXXIII. ⁵ XCV.
⁶ LXXXV. ⁷ XC. ⁸ CV. ⁹ XCII.

Though I never threaded the bead of obedience to Thee and never wiped out the dust of sin from my face,

none the less I am not hopeless of Thy mercy, because I never called the One Two.¹

The briefness of human life is a theme on which 'Umar frames many fine and impressive variations. Before I and thou were born, night and day existed², and when I and thou are not more, the moon will pass many times from the last day of the month to the first of the next, and from the first to the last³. By the coming of spring and the going of the winter month we have finished turning over the leaves of the book of our existence⁴. The days of our life pass like the water in the river and like the wind in the desert⁵, and soon we shall be wiped out from the book of life and destroyed by the claw of death⁶. Cast headlong in the grave of our hopes, we shall be like plucked birds under the hand of death⁷. Lo! the caravan of life passes by as a wonder⁸, and to-morrow we shall depart from this old inn and be the road-fellows of the travellers of seven thousand years⁹.

Human life being thus but an imperceptible point in the existence of the universe, the vicissitudes of fortune are, indeed, a matter of no importance. When I am gone, what matter whether the world has a beginning or not?¹⁰. When the measure of our cup is full, what matter if the drink be sweet or bitter?¹¹ On the pinnacle of the sky-high castle where kings once prostrated themselves to do homage to the ruler of the world, sits a ring-dove cooing: where? where? where? where?¹²

We shall return to the dust. Set thy foot lightly on the dust; for once it was the apple of the eye of a

¹ CIV. ² LXXXVI. ³ XCIII. ⁴ CXXI. ⁵ XXXVII. ⁶ XII. ⁷ XL.
⁸ XCVII. ⁹ XXVI. ¹⁰ IX. ¹¹ XCIII. ¹² CXV.

fair being¹. The grass is to day a feast for our eyes; to-morrow, the grass shall grow from our dust as a feast for other eyes². And when our bodies have been decomposed, our clay may perhaps be made into jars and pots. Again and again 'Umar recurs to that image common to all oriental poetry. In the potter's work-shop the master prepares handle and neck for his jar from the skulls of kings and the feet of beggars³, and as he beats the fresh clay with many strokes, the clay says to him in its own language: Once I was like thee, so treat me gently."⁴

We never heard from anyone for what reason Heaven brings us hither and takes us away.⁵ In the hoop of the wheel of Heaven the souls of so many pure beings burn, and where is the smoke?⁶ Behind the veil of the secrets there is no way for anybody, and the word that solves the riddle neither canst thou speak, nor can I.⁷ Of all those who have departed on that long journey no one has come back to tell us whence we are come, and whither we shall go.⁸ So all our wisdom is vanity of vanities. How long shall we become captives in the prison of every-day reason?⁹ Why strive after such things as are the objects of wise men?¹⁰ The "wise" know-nothings from eating the unripe grapes of wisdom are become like dry raisins themselves, and finally those slaves of intellect and argument became naught while pondering over existence and non-existence.¹¹ Khayyám ("the tent-maker") himself, who was stitching the tents of wisdom, fell into the furnace of affliction and was burnt all of a sudden. The shears of death cut the tent-rope of his life, and the broker of hope sold him for nothing.¹² He did not even arrive at the nice distinctions of

¹ LXXXVI. ² LXXXIX and LI. ³ CXVII. ⁴ LXVIII. ⁵ XCIV.
⁶ CXIV. ⁷ LXI and CX. ⁸ V. ⁹ LIII. ¹⁰ XVII. ¹¹ XLVIII. ¹² LXVII.

the subtle thinkers¹, all the subtleties concerning Yá Sín and Barát and other súras of the Qur'an, eternity to come and eternity past, the lamps of the mosque and the smoke of the fire-temple or the losses of Hell and the profits of Paradise². What do we know about Hell and Paradise? Who has ever gone to Hell and who has come back from Paradise? All those discussions are but the piling up of bricks upon the surface of the sea³.

There is behind the veil some talk about me and thee, but when the veil is drawn aside, neither dost thou remain, nor do I⁴. Then we ourselves are gone behind that veil that covers the mystery of annihilation.⁵ But there we find nothing but death, the sleep during many a lifetime⁶, the sleep from which we shall never awake. For we are not gold, that they should hide us in the earth and dig us up again⁷, nor are we like those pot-herbs which are picked up and grow again⁸. No, the hidden secret is this: the tulip once withered will not blossom again⁹.

So there is but one true philosophy: carpe diem. Be awake, for from sleep the rose of pleasure did never bloom for anyone¹⁰. Do not speak of Yesterday, for To-day is charming¹¹. For two days I never cared: the day that has not come, and the day that has gone¹². As nobody gives us surety of To-morrow, we shall count this one moment of our life as a gain¹³; we must enjoy life, before a night-attack is made upon our head¹⁴, and shed the blood of the refining vessel in the cup, before Time shall shed our blood¹⁵. Imagine thou art not, whilst thou art, and be merry¹⁶. We must see that we have not left

¹ XXXIII. ² CXVI, LXXIII and XXI. ³ LXIV. ⁴ CX. ⁵ XV. ⁶ LIX.

⁷ VII. ⁸ X. ⁹ LIV. ¹⁰ LIX. ¹¹ XXIII. ¹² XXXVII. ¹³ L and XXVI.

¹⁴ VII. ¹⁵ XLV. ¹⁶ III.

anything untasted¹, and take our share of all the parts of the totality, before the parts shall be merged in the totality². Wine is what we need, and the beloved one, and repose after satisfied desires³. But the modest happiness that can be enjoyed in liberty is better than troublesome abundance: a loaf of wheaten bread, a gourd of wine and a leg of mutton, and if I and thou be sitting in the wilderness, that were a treat beyond the powers of most sultans⁴.

Wine is the first and the last of all pleasures. Wher-
ever there is a goblet, thou mayst see us with our necks
stretched like the neck of the bottle towards it⁵. No day
is more lost to thee than the day thou spendest with-
out wine⁶. 'Umar wonders at the wine-sellers, for what
will they buy that is better than that which they sell?⁷
Wine is the capital of the pleasure of youth, it is eternal
life⁸. It is bitter, but it is delightful⁹. Apart from ruby wine
there is not on the surface of the earth anything bitter
that is worth a thousand sweet lives¹⁰. Wine is that spirit
which brings out personality¹¹. It is forbidden in the Holy
Law, but the question is: who drinks? and then how
much? and how and with whom? so, wine-drinking is
the privilege of the wise man¹².

The question of "when" does not exist. Every moment
of time is good for drinking wine. The night, for one thing,
is consecrated to wine¹³. Bring a cup, for the night passes
by¹⁴. Drink wine by the light of the moon, o Moon, for
many times the moon will shine, and it will not find us
here¹⁵. Then we hear of the time of the morning-draught,
when the beloved one strikes up a tune and serves the

¹ V. ² XCIX. ³ LXXI. ⁴ XXVIII. ⁵ LXXII. ⁶ XXII. ⁷ LXX.
⁸ LXIX. ⁹ XLIX. ¹⁰ VIII. ¹¹ C. ¹² XX. ¹³ LXXV. ¹⁴ XCVII. ¹⁵ L.

wine¹. Gently, gently, we drink in the time of dawn². When the sun has thrown the lasso of dawn over the roof, the broker of morning-time flings out among the days the cry of "Drink!"³ Throughout the year the grape-juice may be in our hand⁴, but spring, the time of renewal, more than any other time invites to the enjoyment of wine-drinking. Nowrúz, the old New Year's feast at vernal equinox, is the greatest festival of the Persians. At Nowrúz, when the cloud has shed its doleful tears all over the grass and wasted the face of the tulip⁵, when the charming breeze of New Year blows on the face of the rose⁶, then we shall sit on the bank of the field with a cup of wine⁷. The goblet shall be in 'Umar's hand all through life, and when he is dead, they shall wash his body with wine and make him a coffin from the wood of the wine, and the funeral oration shall be about wine and cup⁸. From his clay they shall make a wine-bottle, then, perhaps, he may revive, when filled with wine⁹. If they want to find him on the day of resurrection, they must seek him in the dust before the door of the tavern¹⁰.

To complete the pleasure, song and music and love is needed. 'Umar drinks his wine, listening to the elegy of the lute¹¹, for this is the melody of David¹². He enjoys the sounds of the flute and the rebeck¹³. And a beloved one must be present at the drinking party¹⁴, or even more houri-like idols¹⁵. His soul cleaves to a face like the rose¹⁶. We ought ever to drink wine and associate with the fair-faced ones¹⁷. Alas for that heart in which there is no fire of love, which is not struck with distress for a heart-

¹ CXVIII. ² XLVII. ³ XCVI. ⁴ I. ⁵ LXXXIX, LI. ⁶ XXIII.

⁷ XXXIX. ⁸ LXXVI, XC VIII. ⁹ XL, CVII. ¹⁰ LXXVI. ¹¹ XXXI ¹² XIII.

¹³ CVII. ¹⁴ IX. ¹⁵ I. ¹⁶ XCIX. ¹⁷ LVI.

cheering being!¹ On this point 'Umar follows the beaten track of conventional poetry, and by the "beloved one", "the idol of tulip-cheeks" etc. is commonly meant, as in the case of other Persian poets, the boy in the flower of youth, the young man-slave who fills the cup and presents it to his master. The "sweet-faced skinker"², the idol, who serves the wine in the tent³, was probably not a woman.

The cits may care for their reputation, but for an enlightened mind it is a disgrace to be known as a man of good name⁴. Drunkenness and vagrancy and erring from the path are best⁵. The veil of honesty that once covered us has become so badly torn that it cannot be repaired⁶. Having put soul and heart, cup (*jám*) and cloak (*jáma*) in pledge for wine, we have got rid of the hope of mercy and the fear of punishment⁷. What place is there for worship and prayer? Lo! throw dust upon the head of the heavens and the world⁸. 'Umar, by thrice repeating the formula of divorce according to the rule of Islám, repudiates Reason and Faith and then marries Wine, the daughter of the grape⁹. Now, with cheerful humour and audacious wit, he makes a mockery of all that is holy. Wine is the foe of faith; well, then he drinks the blood of the foe, for according to the Holy Law it is allowed to kill the enemies of faith¹⁰. In the wine-house we cannot perform the ritual ablution except with wine¹¹. It is a command of Religion to practise renouncement, so 'Umar renounces — the five daily prayers¹²; and if it is forbidden to drink wine in the month of Sha'bán and even in Rajab, which is the special month of God, he drinks in the very fasting-month, in Ramadhán, for that is his special month!¹³ He

¹ XXII. ² XII. ³ XIX. ⁴ CXI. ⁵ XIX. ⁶ XIV. ⁷ LXVI. ⁸ LVI.

⁹ LXXV. ¹⁰ II. ¹¹ XIV. ¹² LXXII. ¹³ XXV.

were worse than a dog, if he cared for Paradise, whilst he is sitting with his cup on the bank of the field in company with his idol¹. He takes his cash in this world and leaves to others to get an order for Paradise², for as to Paradise it is always uncertain, if we shall arrive there or not³. Moreover, God in His Qur'an has promised the faithful a Paradise with wine, milk, honey, and black-eyed maidens; so it must be right that we take these pleasures during our worldly existence, seeing that things will be the same after death⁴.

Every love-lament that a drunkard raises at dawn is better than the cry of the hypocritical zealots⁵, and it is better to be drunk with the flavour of the grape-juice than to pride oneself on an ascetic life⁶. If God makes 'Umar repentant, 'Umar will show repentance⁷, but God does not; may therefore repentance be far from him!⁸ The pharisee commits a hundred things in comparison to which wine-drinking is but child's play⁹. "Always thou callest me an heretic and an infidel. I admit all that I am, but, honestly, art thou the one to say so?"¹⁰

The portrait of the poet 'Umar-i-Khayyám which outlines itself from this selection does not, indeed, differ very much from the one familiar to us through the version of FitzGerald. We see that FitzGerald, for all the liberties he has taken with the original, has grasped with a sure psychological and esthetical instinct the true kernel of the 'Umarian poetry. It must be remembered, however, that

¹ XXXIX. ² LV. ³ XXXIII. ⁴ IV. ⁵ LXXXVIII. ⁶ CXI. ⁷ LXXIV.
⁸ I. ⁹ LXXIV. ¹⁰ CXX.

one of the main sources consulted by FitzGerald, the old MS. Bodl. I, contains comparatively few decidedly spurious quatrains and is, as a whole, a rather faithful representative of the spirit of 'Umar.

THE RUBÁ'YAT OF 'UMAR-I-KHAYYÁM

THE PERSIAN TEXT

The following text contains the 121 quatrains selected on the basis of the principles which I have laid down on pp. 38—39 of the present work. I begin with the quatrains, 75 in number, which occur in BN I, following the sequence in which they are recorded in this MS. supposed to represent in the main the original order. The other 46 follow in the order of the numbers of the list given in the appendix. As to the variants, I beg to point out that I have not been able to make use of Br. M. II, Calc. I and II, not having at my disposal the complete texts of these collections.

The numbers in my concordance are given in a parenthesis above each quatrain.

I

(No. 340).

BN I. 2; R I. 119; Bodl. I. 64; BN IVa. 81.

Bodl. II. 154; Calc. I. 216; Br. M. III. 208; MA. 207;
Br. M. II. 275.

در سر هوس بدان چون حورم^۱ باد
 بر کف همه ساله^۲ آب انگورم باد
 گویند بمن خدا ترا^۳ توبه دهاد^۴
 او خود ندهد^۵ من نکنم دورم باد

Inversion of the two first hemist. in Bodl. II and MA. —

^۱ Bodl. II: — ^۲ R I: در دست همیشه. — ^۳ مخمورم Bodl. II, Br. M. III:

— خدا ترا نمی: R I: Bodl. II: BN I: مرا خدا ترا: ³ بردست همیشه — . ترا خدا زمی: MA: مرا ترا خدا: Br. M. III: — .
⁴ Bodl. II: دهد: دهد: ⁵ MA: — .

II

(No. 189).

BN I. 3; BN II. 261; Bodl. I. 38; BN IV a. 42.
 Bodl. II. 88; Calc. I. 83; Berl. 117; Br. M. III. 47; MA. 86;
 Br. M. II. 62.

می میخورم و مخالفان از چپ و راست
 گویند مخور باده که دین را ¹ اعداست
 چون دانستم که می عدوی دین است
 والله بخورم خون عدورا که رواست

¹ Berl.: این را.

III

(No. 454).

BN I. 5; BN II. 202; R I, 186; BN III. 26; Bodl. I. 102;
 BN IV a. 137.
 Bodl. II. 231; Calc. I. 260; Br. M. III. 233; Br. M. I. 212;
 Br. M. II. 335.

خیام اگر زباده مستی ¹ خوش باش
 با لاله رخی ² اگر نشستی خوش باش
 آن ³ غصه مخور که نیست گردی فردا ⁴
 انگار که نیستی چو هستی ⁵ خوش باش

باده پرسنی: Bodl. II, Br. M. I: زعشق مستی: Bodl. II, Br. M. III: — BN II: Br. M. III: با ماه رخی: R I, BN III, Bodl. II: با باده پرسنی: — BN II: چون عاقبت کار جهان نیستی است: ⁴ BN II: — . زین: ³ — . با تازه رخی: R I: چون آخر کار این جهان: BN III: چون عاقبت کار همه نیستی است: Bodl. I, BN IV a: چون آخر کار نیست خواهی بودن: Bodl. II: نیستیست: زتار معافرا بمعیان: Br. M. III: چون عاقبت الامر فنا خواهی شد: — . دانی زچه از ننگ مسلمان: ⁵ Br. M. III: — . خواهم بست

IV

(No. 285).

BN I. 6; BN II. 196 & 322; R I. 137.

Bodl. II. 161; Calc. I. 143; Br. M. III. 132; MA. 152;
Br. M. I. 161; Br. M. II. 171.

گویند بهشت و حور عین^۱ خواهد بود^۲
آنجا می و شیر وانگیین^۳ خواهد بود
پس نی می و معشوق نباید بودن^۴
چون عاقبت کار^۵ همین خواهد بود

^۱ BN I: بیهشت حور عین: BN II. 196: یکی خلد برین BN II. 322: آنجا می خواهد بود — ^۲ Br. M. III: against the rhyme. — ^۳ BN I: آنجا می ناب وانگیین BN II. 196: کانجبا می لعل و حور عین BN II. 322: آنجا می ناب: Br. M. III, MA: ما با می: BN II. 196: دروی می و شیر وانگیین: Br. M. I: وانگیین گر ما می و معشوق: BN II. 322, Br. M. I, MA: و معشوق از آنیم مقیم گر ما می و معشوق پرستیم: R I, Bodl. II, Br. M. III: پرستیم چه با که آخر نه عاقبت: Bodl. II, Br. M. III: رواست.

V

(No. 424).

BN I. 9; BN II. 121; R I. 167.

Bodl. II. 219; Calc. I. 240; MA. 238; Br. M. I. 200; Br. M. II. 317; R II. 38.

از جمله رفتگان این راه دراز
باز آمده کو که خبر گوید راز^۱
هان بر سر این دوراه آز و نیاز^۲
چیزی نگذاری^۳ که نمی آیی^۴ باز

^۱ BNI: که خبر گیرم باز: R I: که خبر گوید باز: BN II, Bodl. II, MA, Br. M. I: — ^۲ BN I: که بما گوید راز: R II: که بما گوید باز: BN I: هان بر سر این دوراه پر آز و نیاز: Bodl. II: زنهار درین سراچه از بهر مجاز ^۳ BN II: پس بر سر این دو راه آزار و نیاز: Br. M. I, R II:

تا هیچ نمانی: MA: — با هیچ نمانی: MA: —
^۴ BN I: ; دگر نایی: R II: .

VI

(No. 443).

BN I. 10; BN II. 31; R I. 168; Bodl. I. 94; BN IVa. 126.
 Bodl. II. 222; Calc. I. 250; Br. M. III. 243; MA. 255;
 Br. M. II. 329.

از روی حقیقتی ^۱ نه از روی مجاز
 ما لعبتکاریم و فلک لعبت باز
 بازیچه همی کنیم بر ^۲ نطع وجود
 رفتهیم بصدق عدم ^۳ یک یک باز

Inversion of the two first hemist. in Br. M. III. —

^۱ BN I: — ^۲ BN I: در. — ^۳ BN II: عمل.

VII

(No. 277).

BN I. 11; BN II. 336; R I. 124; Bodl. I. 68; BN IVa. 85.
 Bodl. II. 157; Calc. I. 139; Br. M. III. 128; MA. 149;
 Br. M. II. 162.

زان پیش که بر سرت ^۱ شبیخون آرند
 فرمای که تا باده ^۲ گلگون آرند
 تو زر نه ای غافل ^۳ نادان که ترا
 در خاک نهند و باز بیرون آرند

^۱ BN II, MA: — ^۲ R I, Bodl. II, Br. M. III, MA:
 — ^۳ BN I: جاهل; BN II: ابل. بتا تای.

VIII

(No. 310).

BN I. 19; BN II. 332; R I. 149; Bodl. I. 85; BN IVa. 97.
 Bodl. II. 179; Calc. I. 159; Br. M. III. 146; Br. M. I. 129;
 Br. M. II. 192.

یک جام شراب صد دل و دین^۱ ارزد
 یک جرعة می مملکت چین ارزد
 جز باده لعل نیست در روی زمین^۲
 تلخی که هزار جان شیرین ارزد

یک باده هزار مرد^۱ BN I, RI; یک باده هزار مرد بی دین: BN II: —.
 یک جام هزار مرد بد دین: Bodl. II, Br. M. III, Br. M. I: با دین
^۲ BN I, BN II, RI: در روی زمین زباده خوشترا چه بود: Bodl. II,
 در روی زمین چیست زباده خوشترا: Br. M. III, Br. M. I: .

IX

(No. 537).

BN I. 20; RI. 219; Bodl. I. 112; BN IVa. 165.
 Bodl. II. 265; Calc. I. 304; Br. M. III. 280; Br. M. II. 384;
 R II. 56; R III. 4.

چون نیست مقام ما درین دهر^۱ مقیم
 پس بی می و معشوق خطائی است^۲ عظیم
 تاکی زقدیم و محدث امیدم ویم^۴
 چون من رفتمن جهان چه^۵ محدث چه^۵ قدیم

^۱ BN I: درین مقام ما دیر: R I, Bodl. I, BN IVa, Bodl. II:
 مقام درین دیر: RII: درین مقام تا دیر: Br. M. III: مقام ما درین دیر: —.
^۲ Bodl. I, BN IVa: پس بی ساق و معشوق عذاییست: Bodl. II: —.
^۳ Bodl. I, BN IVa, Bodl. II: الیم: —. می و معشوف عذاییست
^۴ BN I, RI, Bodl. II, Br. M. III, RII: Bodl. I, BN IVa: ای مرد سلیم
 BN IVa: ای مرد حکیم: —.
^۵ Br. M. III: چو:

X

(No. 264).

BN I. 21; BN II. 127; Bodl. I. 49; BN IVa, 67.
 Bodl. II. 147; Calc. I. 132; Berl. 197; Br. M. III. 121;
 Br. M. II. 212.

این^۱ عقل که در راه سعادت پوید
روزی صد بار خود ترا^۲ می گوید
در یاب تو این یکدمه وقت که نه^۳
آن^۴ تره که بدروند و دیگر^۵ روید

^۱ Bodl. II, Br. M. III: — ^۲ BN II: خودرا; Berl.: مر ترا;
Br. M. III: یکربه (?) — ^۳ BN I: خویشا; یکدمه وقت گریز;
Bodl. II: نکنه خالص که نه; Berl.: وقتی که نه;
BN I: زمان صحبت را که بدروند آخر — ^۴ Berl.: ز آن;
BN II, Bodl. II, Br. M. III: بدروند و آخر; Berl.: بدروند دیگر.

XI

(No. 158).

BN I. 29; BN II, 329; R I. 63.
Bodl. II. 64; Calc. I. 62; Berl. 75; Br. M. I. 105; Br. M.
II. 78.

گویند مرا که^۱ دوزخی باشد مست
قولیست خلاف دل در آن^۲ نتواند بست
گر عاشق و مست دوزخی خواهد بود
فردا بینی بهشت را چون^۳ کف دست

^۱ BN I: مارا گویند — ^۲ BN II, Bodl. II, Br. M. I: خلاف دل
— ^۳ BN II, Bodl. II, Br. M. I: بیشتر دل درو: و لیک دل درو: درو
همچون.

XII

(No. 358).

BN I. 31; Bodl. I. 52; BN IVa. 70.
Calc. I. 165; Br. M. III. 152; MA. 161; Br. M. I. 182;
Br. M. II. 199.

از دفتر عمر^۱ پاک می باید شد
در چنگ^۲ اجل هلاک می باید شد
ای ساق^۳ خوش لقا تو فارغ منشین
آبی در ده که خاک می باید شد

^۱ Bodl. I, BN IVa: — اند ره عشق: — ^۲ Br. M. III, MA, Br. M. I: خوش دست: — ^۳ BN I: خوشدل میباش: Br. M. III, MA, Br. M. I: خوش مارا.

XIII (No. 198).

BN I. 32; BN II. 220; R I. 23.

Bodl. II. 94 in part; Calc. I. 91; Berl. 129; Br. M. III. 85; MA. 94; Br. M. I. 61; Br. M. II. 83.

با باده نشین که ملک حمود اینست
وز چنگ شنو که لحن داود اینست
از نامده ^۱ ورفته دگر یاد مکن
خوش باش که از وجود ^۲ مقصود اینست

^۱ Berl., Br. M. III, MA, Br. M. I: آمده. — ^۲ Berl., Br. M. III, Br. M. I: — . حالی خوش باش ودان که MA.: حالی خوش باش دان که — The two last hemist. are wanting in Bodl. II.

XIV (No. 312).

BN I. 33: Bodl. I. 65; BN IVa. 82.

Bodl. II. 180; Calc. I. 160; Br. M. III. 147; Br. M. I. 130; Br. M. II. 193.

درمیکده جز بی وضو نتوان کرد
وآن نام که زشت شد نکو نتوان کرد
خوش باش که این پرده ^۱ مستورئی ما
بدریده چنان شد که رفو نتوان کرد

^۱ Bodl. II: که پرده.

XV (No. 192).

BN I. 34; Bodl. I. 26; BN IVa. 28.

Bodl. II. 91; Calc. I. 85; Berl. 120; MA. 88; Br. M. II. 65.

دریاب که از روح جدا خواهی رفت
 در پرده اسرار فنا^۱ خواهی رفت
 می نوش^۲ ندانی زجکا آمده
 خوش باش^۳ ندانی که بکجا خواهی رفت

^۱ Bodl. I, BN IVa, Bodl. II, Berl., MA: — ^۲ Bodl. I, BN IVa: — ^۳ می خور که Bodl. II, Berl., MA: — ^۴ Bodl. I, BN IVa: می نوش.

XVI (No. 410).

BN I. 42; R I. 163; Bodl. I. 91; BN IVa. 123.
 Bodl. II. 206; Calc. I. 231; MA. 233; Br. M. II. 306; BN V. 20, in part; R II. 32.

ستت مکن^۱ و فریضها را بگذار^۲
 وین^۳ لقمه که داری زکسان باز مدار
 غیبت مکن ودل کسی را مازار^۴
 در عهده آن جهان منم باده بیار

^۱ R II: — ^۲ BN I: فریضه را هم مگذار: R I, Bodl. II, MA, R II: — ^۳ R I, Bodl. II, R II: فریضه حق بگذار: — ^۴ BN I, MA: غیبت مکن: R I: در خون کس و مال کسان قصد مکن: Bodl. II: — ^۵ R II: درخون کسی مال کسی قصد مکن: Bodl. II: — ^۶ BN V: غیبت مکن و مجوى کس را: BN V: در خون کس و مال کسی قصد مکن آزار: — The two first hemist. are wanting in BN V.

XVII (No. 247).

BN I. 46; BN II. 135: R I. 115.
 Bodl. II. 144; Calc. I. 130; Berl. 238; Br. M. III. 119;
 MA. 143; Br. M. II. 167.
 R III. 1.

عالم اگر از بهر تو^۱ می آرایند
مگرای بدان که عاقلان نگرایند^۲
بسیار چو تو روند و^۳ بسیار آیند
بربای نصیب خویش کت^۴ برایند

^۱ BN II, R I, Bodl. II, Berl., Br. M. III: چشم تو عالم — ^۲ BN I: بر چشم تو عالم همه MA: ارجه بر (در: Bodl. II: فکر تو بدان که غافلان نگرایند; Berl.: بگرای برآن که عارفان بگرایند; BN II, R I, Bodl. II, Berl., MA: منگر تو برآن که عاقلان نگرایند; Br. M. III: بمنگر که برآن عاقلان; BN I: بسیار همی روند و; MA: بسیار همی نکرایند; Br. M. III: بسیار چو تو شدن و; Br. M. III: بسیار چو تو روند و; BN II, R I, Bodl. II, Berl., MA: بسیار شدن و; BN I: خوش کند (?). — Inversion of the two last hemist. in Bodl. II, Berl., Br. M. III.

XVIII

(No. 713).

BN I. 48; Bodl. I. 151; BN IVa. 227.
Bodl. II. 401; Calc. I. 417; Br. M. III. 389; MA. 275; Br. M. II. 526.

چندانکه نگاه میکنم هر سوی
در باغ روanst^۱ زکوثر جوئی
حررا چو بهشت شد^۲ ز دوزخ کم گوی
بنشین به بهشت با^۳ پیشته روئی

^۱ BN I: از باده بهشتست و Bodl. II, Br. M. III, MA: از (واز Bodl. II: سبزه بهشتست و Bodl. II: وبا: بهشتست).

XIX

(No. 672).

BM I, 49; R I. 266: Bodl. I. 133; BN IVa. 202.
Bodl. II. 334; Calc. I. 382; Br. M. III. 358; Br. M. II. 486.

از هرچه نه خرمیست^۱ کوتاهی به
می هم زکف بتان^۲ خرگاهی به

مستی و قلندری و گمراهی^۳ به

یک جرعة می زماه تا ماهی به

^۱ R I, Bodl. I, BN IVa: Br. M. III: از هر چه بجز می است — ^۲ Bodl. I: BN IVa: وز دست بتان مست — ^۳ BN IVa: آگاهی می هم بتان مست.

XX

(No. 243).

BN I. 50; BN II. 282; Bodl. I. 78; BN IVa. 90.
Calc. I. 162; Br. M. III. 149; MA. 155; Br. M. I. 159;
Br. M. II. 195.

می گر چه حرامست ولی تا که خورد

و آنگاه^۱ چه مقدار و کی و با که^۲ خورد

هر گاه که این چهار شرط آید جمع^۳

پس می نخورد^۴ مردم دانا که خورد

^۱ BN II, Bodl. I, BN IVa: و کی تا که BN II: آنگاه — ^۲ BN I: BN II: که و با که Bodl. I, BN IVa: و دگر با که Br. M. III: — ^۳ BN II: سه شرط شد راست بگو: Bodl. I: چهار شرط آید راست BN IVa: سه شرط آمد جمع MA: Br. M. I: چهار شرط آمد جمع — ^۴ Br. M. III: چهار چیز آمد جمع گرمی: Br. M. I: می پس نخورد.

XXI

(No. 218).

BN I. 55; BN II. 89; R I. 30; BN III. 18.
Bodl. II. 110; Calc. I. 106; Berl. 152; Br. M. III. 75; MA. 108; Br. M. I. 38; Br. M. II. 106.

تاكی زچراج مسجد و دود^۱ گشت

تاكی ز زيان^۲ دوزخ و سود بهشت^۳

رو بر سر لوح بين که استاد قلم^۴

اندر ازل^۵ آنچه بودنی بود نوشته^۶

^۱ BN I: — ^۲ RI, Br. M. I: دیر. — ^۳ Bodl. II
تا چند زیان — ^۴ BN II: خاک ره تو نیز از این تن بوداست
BN I: hem. belonging to no. 109. —
Bodl. II, Berl., Br. M. III, MA: استاد ازل
رو با سر روز اولین شو که قلم (Br. M. III,
MA:) رو با سر روز اولین شو که قضا: (قضات:
Bodl. II, MA, Br. M. III: استاد ازل؛ — ^۵ RI:
آنجه از بد و نیک: — ^۶ BN I, Bodl. II, MA, Br. M. III: روز ازل
بودنی بود نوشته.

XXII (No. 216).

BN I. 58; BN II. 193; RI. 22; Bodl. I. 10; BN IVa. 12.
Bodl. II. 118; Berl. 162; Br. M. III. 99; MA. 106; Br. M.
I. 89; Br. M. II. 125.

ای وای برآن دل که درو ^۱ سوزی نیست
سودازدۀ مهر دلفروزی ^۲ نیست
روزی که تو بی باده ^۳ بسر خواهی برد
ضایع تر از آن روز ترا روزی نیست

^۱ Bodl. II: ترا. — ^۲ Br. M. I: بدآموزی. — ^۳ BN II, RI, Bodl. I,
BN IVa: عشق.

XXIII (No. 193).

BN I. 62; BN II. 126; RI. 25; BN III. 68; Bodl. I. 17;
BN IVa. 19.

Bodl. II. 92; Calc. I. 86; Berl. 121; Br. M. III. 82; MA. 89;
Br. M. I. 69; Br. M. II. 66.

بر چهرۀ گل نسیم ^۱ نوروز خوشت
در زیر چمن ^۲ روی دلفروز خوشت
از دی که ^۳ گذشت هر چه گوئی خوش نیست
خوش باش وزدی مگو ^۴ که امروز خوشت

^۱ Bodl. II, Br. M. III, MA, Br. M. I: شبنم سبزه. —
^۲ BN II: کشت چمن R I, Bodl. II, Berl., Br. M. III, MA, Br. M. I: چن چمن. — ^۳ Bodl. II: چو. — ^۴ BN II, R I, Bodl. II: باش وزدی گذر; BN III, Br. M. I: باش زدی مگو.

XXIV (No. 519).

BN I. 91; BN II. 43; R I. 203; BN III. 19.
 Bodl. II. 285, 286; Calc. I. 294; Br. M. III. 261; Br. M. II. 413.

ای چرخ ز گردش تو خرسند نیم
 پندم چه دهی که قابل پند ^۱ نیم
 گر میل تو با بی خرد ^۲ و ناهملت
 من نیز چنان اهل و خردمند ^۳ نیم

^۱ BN II, R I: آزاد کنم که لایق پند: آزادم کن که لایق پند: آزاده کیم که لایق: Bodl. II: پندم چه دهی که قابل این پند: آزاده کیم که لایق: ^۲ Bodl. II. 286: تو بی خرد: ^۳ BN I: بسی اهل و خردمند: پند: چنان اهل خردمند: Br. M. III: .

XXV (No. 51).

BN I. 93; BN II. 210; R I. 61.
 Bodl. II. 68; Calc. I. 65; Berl. 81; Br. M. III. 32; MA. 62;
 Br. M. II. 77.

گویند که می مخور بشعبان ^۱ نه رواست
 نه نیز ^۲ رجب که آن مه خاص خداست
 شعبان و رجب مه خدایند ^۳ و رسول
 ما می رمضان ^۴ خوریم کان خاصه ماست

^۱ BN II: R I: مخور می مه شعبان: Bodl. II, Berl., Br. M. III, MA: مخور باده که شعبان: ^۲ Bodl. II: نی ما: — ^۳ Berl., Br. M. III, MA: شعبان خدایست: ^۴ Berl., Br. M. III, MA: نی نیز: — ماه رمضان: ماه رمضان: —

XXVI
(No. 546).

BN I. 96; BN II. 122; R I. 204.

Bodl. II. 255; Calc. I. 308; Br. M. III. 284; Br. M. II. 394;
R II. 60.

ای دوست بیا تا غم فردا خوریم
وین ^۱ یکده عمر را ^۲ غنیمت شمریم
فردا که ازین دیر کهن ^۳ در گذریم
با هفت هزار سالگان همسفریم ^۴

^۱ Bodl. II: — ^۲ BN I, BN II, R II: نقدرا ; Br. M. III: این .
ازین دیر فنا: ^۳ BN I: R I: ازین روی زمین — . وقترا Bodl. II:
سر بسریم . ^۴ BN I, Br. M. III, R II: درین دیر کهن .

XXVII
(No. 723).

BN I. 104; BN III. 67; BN IV b. 245.

Bodl. II. 392; Calc. I. 421; Br. M. III. 394; Br. M. II. 520.
R III. 13.

ای آنکه نتیجه چهار ^۱ و هفتی ^۲
وز هفت ^۳ و چهار دایم اندر تفتی
می خور که هزار باره پیشتر گفتم
باز آمدنت نیست چو رفتی رفتی

و هفتی ^۱ Br. M. III: . ای دوست به پنجه و چهار ^۲ Bodl. II: — . وز پنج ^۳ BN I: — . تفتی (!).

XXVIII
(No. 697).

BN I. 109; BN II. 229; R I. 320; BN III. 24; Bodl. I. 155;
BN IV a. 262.

Bodl. II. 406; Calc. I. 408; Br. M. III. 380; MA. 270; Br.
M. I. 265; Br. M. II. 512; BN V. 25.

گر دست دهد زمفر گندم نانی
 از می کدوی ^۱ ز گوسفندی رانی ^۲
 و آنگه ^۳ من و تو نشسته در ^۴ ویرانی
 عیشی بود آن نه حد ^۵ هر سلطانی

^۱ BN I: ; BN II, RI, Br. M. III: ; وز می دو منی: BN II, RI, Br. M. III: ; وز می سه منی: Br. M. I: — . باسر بکلی ^۲ MA: — . و گوسفند رانی ^۳ Br. M. III: ; بامادرخ نشسته در ^۴ Br. M. I: ; بامادرخ نشسته در BN II, RI, BN III, BN V: — . آنگه ^۵ BN I: ; عیشی بود این نه حد هر: BN II: ; عیشی بود این نه حد هر: BN I: — . پنهان ز زمانه در بنی (?) ملکی باشد: Br. M. I: ; آن عیش را ز مملکت: MA: عیشی باشد نه حد هر — . نه حد هر — The two last hemist. are wanting in Bodl. II.

XXIX

(No. 181).

BN I. 110; BN II. 21; RI. 45; Bodl. I. 24; BN IVa. 26.
 Bodl. II. 81; Calc. I. 77; Berl. 105; Br. M. III. 41; MA. 80;
 Br. M. I. 41; Br. M. II. 45.

در صومعه و مدرسه و دیر و کنشت ^۱
 ترسنده ^۲ دوزخند و جویای ^۳ بهشت
 آنکس ^۴ که زاسرار خدا با خبرست
 زین تخم در اندرون دل ^۵ هیچ نکشت

^۱ BN I: — . دیر کنشت ^۲ Bodl. I, BN IVa, Bodl. II, Br. M. III, Br. M. I: — . ترسنده ^۳ BN I, Br. M. III, Br. M. I: . دوزخند جویای ^۴ RI: . — . آنکس ^۵ BN II, Berl., Br. M. III, Br. M. I: . خود

XXX

(No. 339).

BN I. 115; BN. II. 123; RI. 117.
 Bodl. II. 153; Calc. I. 215; Br. M. III. 207; MA. 206; Br. M. II. 271.

در دهر کسی بگلعداری نرسید
 تا بر دلش از زمانه ^۱ خاری ^۲ نرسید
 چون شانه که تا سرش ^۳ بصد شاخ نشد
 دستش پسر زلف نگاری نرسید

^۱ BN II: — ^۲ Br. M. III: — . خواری: از فراق: ^۳ R I, Bodl. II,
 MA: در شانه نگر تا: Br. M. III: در شانه نگر که تا: .

XXXI (No. 474).

BN I. 122; BN II 203; BN III. 27; BN IV b. 267.

Bodl. II. 241; Calc. I. 270; Br. M. II. 352.

R III. 8.

ایام ^۱ زمانه از کسی دارد ننگ
 کو در غم ایام نشیند دلتگ
 می خور تو ^۲ ز آبگینه با ^۳ ناله چنگ
 زآن پیش که آبگینه آید ^۴ بر سنگ

^۱ BN I, BN II, BN III, BN IV b, Bodl. II: خیام: — ^۲ BN II,
 BN IVa, Bodl. II: — ^۳ BN III: ر: بآبگینه و: — می نوش: در آبگینه و:
 — ^۴ BN II: که آید آبگینه آید: Bodl. II: کت آبگینه آید: .

XXXII (No. 94).

BN I. 123; Bodl. I. 21; BN IVa. 23.

Bodl. II. 54; Calc. I. 51; Berl. 63; Br. M. III. 20; MA. 41;
 Br. M. I. 80; Br. M. II. 51.

چون آمدنم بمن بند ^۱ روز نخست
 وین ^۲ رفتن بی مراد عزمیست ^۳ درست
 بر خیز و میان ^۴ به بند ای ساقی چست
 کاندوه جهان بی ^۵ فرو خواهم شست

^۱ MA: آمدنم بند: — ^۲ Bodl. II, Berl., Br. M. III, MA,

Br. M. I: — ^۳ Bodl. II: . این . بی مراد نه عزمیست — ^۴ Br. M. I: . بر خنز میان ^۵ Bodl. II: همی.

XXXIII

(No. 733).

BN I. 129; BN II. 209; R I. 295; Bodl. I. 143; BN IVa. 219.
Bodl. II. 389; Calc. I. 426; Br. M. I. 267; Br. M. II. 534.

ای دل تو باسرار ^۱ معما نرسی
در نکته زیرکان دانا نرسی
اینجا بمی و جام ^۲ بهشتی می ^۳ ساز
کانجا که بهشتست ^۴ رسی یا نرسی

^۱ Bodl. II: . در اسرار — ^۲ BN II: ; Bodl. II: زمی: زمی و نقل: . در اسرار — ^۳ BN II, Bodl. II, Br. M. I: . زمی و جام: ; و حور —
^۴ Bodl. II: . کانجا به بهشت یا.

XXXIV

(No. 732).

BN I. 130; BN II. 88; R I. 318; BN III. 17; Bodl. I. 157;
BN IVa. 263.

Calc. I. 425; Br. M. III. 399; MA. 278; Br. M. II. 533.

گر آمدنم بمن ^۱ بدی نامدی
ور نیز شدن بمن بدی ^۲ کی شدمی
به زان بدی که اندرین کون و فساد ^۳
نه آمدی نه شدمی نه بدی ^۴

; ور زانکه بخویش رفتی: — ^۲ BN I: ; BN III: . بخود: ; زمن: BN II: ; ور نیز شدن زمن بدی BN III: ; ور نیز شدن زمن شدی BN II: . ور نیز شدن بمن شدی M. III: . عالم ^۳ BN I, Bodl. I, BN IVa: . دیر خراب: BN II, BN III: ; دیر کهن: Br. M. III, MA: . خاک: —
^۴ BN I: . BN II, BN III, BN IVa, Br. M. III: . نه بدی نه شدمی .

XXXV

(No. 634).

BN I. 131; BN II. 47; R I. 262; Bodl. I. 129; BN IVa. 196.
 Bodl. II. 323; Calc. I. 372; Br. M. III. 343; Br. M. I. 252;
 Br. M. II. 464.

این چرخ فلک بھر هلاک من و تو
 قصدی ^۱ دارد بجان پاک من و تو
 بر سبزه نشین بتا که بس دیر نماند ^۲
 تا سبزه برون دمد زخاک ^۳ من و تو

; ای بس که نیاشیم وازین چرخ کبود: — . قصد: Bodl. II: — ^۱ BN II: — .
 بر سبزه نشین پیاله کش دیر نماند Bodl. II, Br. M. III, Br. M. I: — .
 تا سبزه Bodl. II: — ^۲ BN II: — . مه در تابد بر سر خاک (Br. M. I: بزی). — ^۳ BN II: — .
 دمد برون زخاک.

XXXVI

(No. 706).

BN I. 137; BN II. 106; R I. 299; BN III. 64; Bodl. I, 146;
 BN IVa. 222.

Bodl. II. 404; Calc. I. 414; Br. M. III. 386; MA. 272; Br.
 M. II. 523; BN V. 33.

R III. 6.

بر سنگ زدم دوش سبوی کاشی ^۱
 سر هست بدم ^۲ که کردم این او باشی ^۳
 با من بزبان حال می گفت سبو
 من چون تو بدم تو نیز چون من باشی ^۴

سبو ای ساق سبوی ^۱ dropped out in Br. M. III; Bodl. II: against the rhyme. — ^۲ Bodl. I, BN IVa: سر خوش بودم. — ^۳ Br. M. III: قلاشی. — ^۴ Instead of this Br. M. III repeats the second hemistich.

XXXVII

(No. 84).

BN I. 140, 186; BN II. 162; Bodl. I. 20; BN IVa. 22.
Bodl. II, 59; Calc. I. 57; Br. M. III. 25; MA. 48; Br. M. I.
107; Br. M. II. 131.

چون آب^۱ بجویبار و^۲ چون باد بدشت
 روزی دگر از نوبت عمرم^۳ بگذشت
 هرگز غم دو روز مرا یاد نگشت^۴
 روزی که نیامدست و^۵ روزی که گذشت

¹ Br. M. III, Br. M. I.: ~~¶~~. — ² ~~¶~~ wanting in Bodl. II. —

^۳ Bodl. II, MA, Br. M. I: از عمر تو Br. M. III: من و تو — ^۴ BN II: Bodl. II, Br. M. III, MA, Br. M. I: تا من باشم غم دو روزه نخورم — هرگز غم دو روزه (روز ^۵ wanting in BN I. 140 and 186. — . نخاهم خوردن

XXXVIII

(No. 81).

BN I. 142; BN II. 108; R I. 20; Bodl. I. 9; BN IVa. 11.
Bodl. II. 51; Calc. I. 49; Berl. 67; MA. 45; Br. M. I. 84;
Br. M. II. 59.

این کوزه چو من عاشق زاری بودست
وندر طلب روی^۱ نگاری بودست
این^۲ دسته^۳ که در گردن او می بینی
دستیست که در گردن پاری بودست

^۱ BN II, R I, Bodl. II, Berl., MA, Br. M. I: —در نند سر زلف

² RI: — . وین ³ MA: دست.

XXXIX.

(No. 96).

BN I. 143; BN II. 328; R I. 47; Bodl. I. 25; BN IVa. 27.
Bodl. II. 73; Calc. I. 69; Berl. 85; Br. M. III. 37; MA. 72;
Br. M. I. 43; Br. M. II. 95.

در فصل^۱ بهار اگر بتی^۲ حور سرشت
 یک کوزه می دهد مرا^۳ بر لب کشت
 هر چند بنزد عame این^۴ باشد زشت
 از سگ بترم اگر کنم یاد^۵ بهشت

— . با بت : BN I: — . وقت : Bodl. II, Br. M. III: Berl.: — .

^۳ BN I: Bodl. I, BN IVa: پر می قدحی بمن دهد ; پر می قدحی دهد بمن : R I.: یک کوزه می بده مرا : Bodl. II, Br. M. III: یک ساغر می دهد مرا : Berl.: — . پنهان قدحی دهد مرا : MA: یک کوزه می اگر بود : ^۴ BN I, Bodl. I, BN IVa, MA: هر چند : BN II: گرچه بر هر کس این سخن : هر چند : Br. M. I: هر چند بنزد خلق این : RI: بنزد عame این سخن : سک به زمن از زانک برم نام : ^۵ BN I, Bodl. I, BN IVa: بنزد عاقلان سک به زمن است اگر برم نام : MA: .

XL

(No. 539).

BN I. 146; BN II. 227; RI. 220; Bodl. I. 116; BN IVa. 168.
 Bodl. II. 257; Calc. I. 305; Br. M. III. 281; Br. M. II. 391;
 R II. 58.

در پای امل^۱ چو من سر افگنده شوم
 وز^۲ دست اجل چو مرغ پر کنده^۳ شوم
 زینهار گلم بجز صراسی مکنید
 شاید که چو پر زمی شوم^۴ زنده شوم

BN I, BN II, Bodl. I, BN IVa, Br. M. III: اجل . — ^۲ Bodl. II, R II: — ^۳ BN I, BN II, Bodl. I, BN IVa, Br. M. III: باشد که زباده پر شوم^۴ — . وزیغ امید عمر برو کنده (BN I: Bodl. I, BN IVa: شود: Bodl. II, R II: باشد که ببوی می دمی .

XLI

(No. 22).

BN I. 149; BN II. 316; RI. 4; Bodl. I. 6; BN IVa. 6.
 Bodl. II. 5; Calc. I. 6; Berl. 5; Br. M. I. 4; Br. M. II. 1.

قرآن که بهین^۱ کلام خوانند اورا
گه گاه نه بر دوام خوانند اورا
در خط^۲ پیاله آیتی هست مقیم^۳
کاندر همه جا مدام خوانند اورا

^۱ BN I, Bodl. I, BN IV a: — . بهین ; مهین ; BN II, Bodl. II: —
^۲ BN II, R I: در قلب . در گرد ; BN IV a: — ^۳ Bodl. II, Berl.,
Br. M. I: روشن هست .

XLII (No. 305).

BN I. 152; BN II. 283; Bodl. I. 77; BN IV a. 89.
Bodl. II. 172; Calc. I. 153; Br. M. III. 139; Br. M. I. 149;
Br. M. II. 274.

می خور که ز تو کثرت و قلت^۱ ببرد
واندیشه^۲ هفتاد و دو ملت ببرد
پرهیز مکن ز کیمیائی که ازو^۳
یکمن بخوری^۴ هزار علّت ببرد

; ز تو کثرت علّت: Bodl. I, BN IV a: ; ز تو کثرت قلت: Bodl. II, Br. M. III: ; ز تو فلت و کثرت علّت: Br. M. I: ; ز دل کثرت علّت: — ^۱ Bodl. II: — ^۲ Br. M. III: — ^۳ Bodl. I, BN IV a, Br. M. III: . یک جرعه خوری .

XLIII (No. 657).

BN I. 154; BN II. 34; R I. 269; Bodl. I. 134; BN IV a. 203.
Bodl. II. 342; Calc. I. 378; Br. M. III. 353; Br. M. II. 484.

این چرخ چو طاسیست^۱ نگون افتاده
دروی همه زیرکان زبون افتاده
در دوستی شیشه و ساغر نگرید^۲
لب بر لب و در میانه خون افتاده

^۱ BN II, Bodl. II, Br. M. III: . این تابه چرخ بین — ^۲ BN II: صراحی و جام نگر.

XLIV (No. 210).

BN I. 156; BN II. 48, 139; R I. 13; BN III. 12.
Bodl. II. 105; Calc. I. 101; Berl. 137; Br. M. III. 70; MA.
111; Br. M. I. 112; Br. M. II. 103.

آن قصر که بهرام درو ^۱ جام گرفت
روبه ^۲ پیه کرد و آهو ^۳ آرام گرفت
بهرام که گور میگرفتی همه عمر ^۴
امروز به بین که ^۵ گور بهرام گرفت

^۱ BN I: . در آن — ^۲ BN II. 139, R I: آهو. — ^۳ BN II, R I:
ورو به؛ BN III: آهو؛ Bodl. II, Berl., Br. M. III, MA, Br. M. I:
دایم. — ^۴ BN I: همه وقت؛ Bodl. II, Berl., Br. M. III: . و شیر
MA, Br. M. I: . همه سال. — ^۵ BN II. 48, R I, BN III: بنگر که
چگونه؛ Bodl. II, Berl., Br. M. III: امروز نگر که؛ MA, Br. M. I:
دیدی که چگونه. In BN II. 139 the two last hemistiches are
wanting.

XLV

(No. 670).

BN I. 158; BN II. 296; Bodl. I. 131; BN IVa. 200.
Bodl. II. 333; Calc. I. 383; Br. M. III. 360; Br. M. II. 488.

از درس علوم جمله ^۱ بگریزی به
واندر ^۲ سر زلف دلبر آویزی به
زان پیش که روزگار خونت ریزد
تو خون قرابه در ^۳ قدح ریزی به

^۱ Bodl. II, Br. M. I: . زهد. — ^۲ BN II: . اندر. — ^۳ BN II:
قینیه در؛ Bodl. I, BN IVa: صراحی به؛ Bodl. II: . Br. M.
III: فقیه(!) در.

XLVI

(No. 110).

BN I. 159; R I. 48; Bodl. I. 43; BN IV a. 46.
 Bodl. II. 50; Calc. I. 48; Berl. 66; Br. M. III. 17; MA. 44;
 Br. M. II. 58.

در هر دشتی که^۱ لاله زاری بودست
 آن لاله ز خون^۲ شهریاری بودست
 هر شاخ بنفسه کز زمین میروید^۳
 خالیست^۴ که برش^۵ نگاری بودست

^۱ Bodl. I: — از سرخ خون: ^۲ Bodl. I: هرجا که گلی و: ^۳ R I: هر شاخ بنفسه کز چمن میروید: BN IVa: هرجا که بنفسه از زمین میروید — زلفیست: ^۴ Bodl. II: هر دانه که از روی زمین سر بر زد: MA: — ^۵ R I, Bodl. II, Berl. روی. — Br. M. III substitutes the two last, BN IV a the last hemist. of XXXVIII (no. 81).

XLVII

(No. 431).

BN I. 163; BN II. 289.

Calc. I. 243; MA. 246; Br. M. I. 203; Br. M. II. 330; R II. 44.
 R III. 3.

وقت سحرست خیز ای مایه ناز
 نرمک نرمک باده خور و رود^۱ نواز
 کینها^۲ که بجایند نپایند بسی^۳
 زآنها^۴ که شدند کس نمی آید^۵ باز

^۱ MA, Br. M. I, R II, R III: چنک: — ^۲ BN II, R II, R III: بجایند نیایند BN II: بجایند نپایند دراز: — کانها: — . بجایند نپایند کسی: R III: بماندند نماندند بسی: Br. M. I: دگر: — ^۴ BN II: برفتند یکی ناد (نامد) (Br. M. I: (Br. M. I: و آنها: ^۵ MA, Br. M. I: — .

XLVIII

(No. 262).

BN I. 164; Bodl. I. 50; BN IV a. 68.

Bodl. II. 133; Br. M. III. 111; MA. 142; Br. M. I. 158;
Br. M. II. 155.

آنان^۱ که اسیر عقل و تمیز شدند

در حسرت^۲ هست و نیست ناچیز شدند

رو یخبری^۳ و آب انگور گزین

کان^۴ یخبران بغوره میویز شدند

^۱ BN I, Bodl. II, Br. M. III, MA, Br. M. I: آها. — ^۲ MA:
بر. M. II, Br. M. III: — . یخبران. — ^۳ BN I, MA, Br.
M. I: کین.

XLIX

(No. 68).

BN I. 165; BN II. 240; R I. 69.
Bodl. II. 57; Calc. I. 55; Berl. 79; Br. M. III. 23; MA. 59;
Br. M. II. 130.

می گر چه بشرع رشت نامست خوشست

چون از کف شاهد و^۱ غلامست خوشست

تلخست و^۲ حرامست و^۳ خوشم می آید

دیرست^۴ که تا هر چه^۵ حرامست خوشست

^۱ R I: ور از کف زاهد و Bodl. II: چون بر کف ساقی: — . چون از کف ساقی و MA: و^۲ is wanting in BN I. — ^۳ is wanting in BN I and MA. — ^۴ BN II, Berl., Br. M. III: — ^۵ R I: که هر چیز. — دیریست.

L

(No. 5).

BN I. 168; BN II. 219; R I. 2; Bodl. II. 5; BN IVa. 5.
Bodl. II. 7; Calc. I. 7; Berl. 9; Br. M. III. 5; MA. 2; Br.
M. I. 6.

چون عهده^۱ نی کند^۲ کسی فردارا

حال خوش کن این دل پر سودارا^۳

می نوش بنور ماه ای ماه که ماه

بسیار بتاید و^۴ نیابد^۵ مارا

^۱ BN I, BN II, Bodl. II, Br. M. III: — ^۲ BN II, R I, Bodl. II, Berl., Br. M. III, MA, Br. M. I: شود — ^۳ BN I: خوش کن تو این دل شیدارا: Bodl. I, BN IVa: خوش این دل پر سودارا — ^۴ BN I: بیابدو: خوش دار این دل پر سودارا: R I, Br. M. I: بیابدو: بجاید و: Bodl. I: بجاید و: Bodl. II, Berl., MA: بتابد که: Br. M. III: بگردد و: — ^۵ Br. M. III: نیایی.

LI

(No. 104).

BN I. 170; BN II. 304; R I. 56; BN III. 75.
Bodl. II. 58; Calc. I. 56; Berl. 69; Br. M. III. 24; MA. 47;
Br. M. I. 106; Br. M. II. 121.

R III. 5.

چون ابر بثوروز رخ لاله ^۱ بشست
بر خیز و بجام ^۲ باده کن عزم ^۳ درست
کین ^۴ سبزه که امروز تماشا گه تست
فردا همه از ^۵ خاک تو بر خواهد رست

— . صحرا رخ خود بابر نوروز: R I; صحرا رخ بر ابر نوروز: ^۱ BN II:
^۲ R I, Bodl. II: — ^۳ R I: عهد. — ^۴ BN II, Br. M.
III: — ^۵ Berl.: فردا از سر: — Instead of the two last
hemistiches, R I has:

با سبزه خطی بسبزه زاری می خور
بر یاد کسی که سبزه از خاکش رست

LII

(No. 427).

BN I. 171; R I. 172; Bodl. I. 2; BN IVa. 2.
Bodl. II. 221; Calc. I. 242; MA. 240; Br. M. I. 204; Br. M.
II. 321; R. II. 40.

با تو بخرابات اگر گویم ^۱ راز
به زآنکه بمحراب کنم می تو ^۲ نماز

ای اقل وای آخر خلقان همه تو^۳
خواهی تو^۴ مرا بسوز و خواهی^۵ بنواز

^۱ BN I: همی گویم ; Bodl. II, Br. M. I, R II: نمیگوییم
ای اقل و آخر : — . گنم بی تو بحمراب^۲ MA: —
ای اقل و آخر همه خلقان تو^۳ Br. M. I, R II: —
^۴ BN I: بسوز خواهی^۵ RI, BN IVa, Br. M. I: — . تو خواهی .

LIII

(No. 554).

BN I. 173; BN II. 118; R I. 214; BN III. 72; Bodl. I. 111;
BN IV a. 164.

Bodl. II. 289; Calc. I. 316; Br. M. III. 291; Br. M. II. 402.

تا چند اسیر عقل هر روزه شویم^۱
در دهر^۲ چه صد^۳ ساله چه یک روزه شویم
در ده تو بکاسه می از آن^۴ پیش که ما
در کارگه کوزه گران کوزه شویم

^۱ Br. M. III: شوم in the three rhyming hemistiches. —
^۲ Bodl. II, Br. M. III: — . جرم^۳ BN. II, Bodl. I, BN IVa: یک.
— ^۴ BN II: تو بکاسه می از: Bodl. I, BN IVa: فدح باده از آن.

LIV

(No. 188).

BN I. 175; BN II. 284; Bodl. I. 35; BN IV a. 38.

Bodl. II. 87; Calc. I. 82; Berl. 116; Br. M. III. 46; MA 85;
Br. M. I. 66; Br. M. II. 61.

می خور که بزیر گل بسی خواهی^۱ خفت
بی مونس و بی حریف و بی همدم^۲ و جفت
زنها رکس مگو تو این راز^۳ نهفت
هر لاله که پژمرد^۴ نخواهد بشکفت

^۱ Bodl. II: . باید . — ^۲ Bodl. II, Berl., Br. M. III, MA, Br.

M. I: —³ Bodl. II: بکس مگو راز against the metre; Berl.,
M. III, MA: مگو بکس تو این راز; Br. M. I: مگو بکس که این راز.
—⁴ Bodl. II, Berl., Br. M. III, MA, Br. M. I: لاله پرمرده.

LV

(Nr. 89).

BN I. 176; R I. 67; Bodl. I. 40; BN IVa. 43.
Bodl. II, 111; Calc. I. 107; Berl. 153; Br. M. III. 76; MA.
109; Br. M. II. 127.

من هیچ ندانم که مرا آنکه سرشت
از اهل بهشت گفت¹ یا دوزخ زشت
قوتی و بقی و باده² بر³ لب کشت
این هر سه⁴ مرا نقد و ترا⁵ نسیه بهشت

¹ R I: از اهل بهشت گرد Bodl. II, Berl., Br. M. III, MA:
جای² Bodl. II, Berl., Br. M. III, MA: گرد اهل بهشت خوب
— این چار³ BN I, Br. M. III: و —⁴ Berl.
⁵ R I, Bodl. II, Br. M. III, MA: نقد ترا.

LVI

(No. 425).

BN I. 180; BN II. 262; R I. 174; Bodl. I. 97; BN IVa. 129.
Bodl. II. 220; Calc. I. 240; MA. 239; Br. M. I. 201; R II. 39.

رو بر سر افلاک و جهان¹ خاک انداز
می میخور و گرد خوب رویان² می تاز³
چه جای عبادتست و⁴ چه جای نیاز⁵
کثر جمله رفتگان⁶ یکی⁷ نامد باز

¹ BN II, R I, Bodl. I, BN IVa, MA, Br. M. I: —
² BN II, R I: —⁴ می ناز —³ BN I, Bodl. II: ماهرویان is
wanting in BN I. —⁵ R II: —⁶ Br. M. I, R II: —⁷ BN II, R I, R II: کسی جمله روندگان.

LVII

(No. 617).

BN I. 182; Bodl. I. 123; BN IVa. 185.

Bodl. II. 307; Calc. I. 367; Br. M. III. 330; Br. M. II. 453.

تا پتوانی خدمت رندان ^۱ می کن
 بنیاد نماز و روزه ^۲ ویران می کن
 بشنو سخن راست زخیّام عمر ^۳
 می میخور وره میزنا و احسان می کن

^۱ Br. M. III: — ^۲ Bodl. II, Br. M. III: — . بیاران: —^۳ Br. M. III: سخنان عمر خیّای: —

LVIII

(No. 199).

BN I. 183; BN II. 148; R I. 59; Bodl. I. 33; BN IVa. 36.
 Bodl. II. 95, 97; Calc. I. 92; Berl. 130; Br. M. III. 86;
 MA. 95; Br. M. I. 54; Br. M. II. 85.

گردون کمری ز عمر ^۱ فرسوده ماست
 جیحون اثری ز اشک آلوده ^۲ ماست
 دوزخ شری ز رنج بیهوده ^۳ ماست
 فردوس دی ^۴ ز وقت آسوده ^۵ ماست

^۱ Bodl. I, BN IVa: — ^۲ BN II, R I: Bodl. I, BN IVa, Bodl. II. 95, Br. M. III, Br. M. I: — ^۳ BN I: اشک پالوده . — ^۴ BN II, R I, Bodl. II. 95, 97: دری: — ^۵ Bodl. II. 97: پیموده . فرسوده .

LIX

(No. 200).

BN I. 184; BN II. 228; R I. 43; Bodl. I. 27; BN IVa. 29.
 Bodl. II. 85; Calc. I. 81; Berl. 131; Br. M. III. 45; MA. 96;
 Br. M. I. 55; Br. M. II. 90.

در خواب شدم مرا ^۱ خردمندی گفت
کن خواب کسی را گل شادی نشکفت
چیزی ^۲ چکنی که با اجل باشد جفت ^۳
می نوش که عمرهات ^۴ می باید خفت

^۱ BN I, Bodl. II, Br. M. III, MA, Br. M. I: Berl.: بدم مرا ; —
کاری . — ^۲ BN II, Berl., Br. M. III, MA, Br. M. I: مرا دوش
^۳ BN II: . تزدیکست — ^۴ BN I, Bodl. II, Br. M. III, MA: می خور
می خور که بعمرهات ^۴ که بنزیر خاک Berl., Br. M. I: .

LX (No. 367).

BN I. 187; BN. II. 231; R I. 145; Bodl. I. 81; BN IVa. 93.
Bodl. II. 183; Calc. I. 166; Br. M. III. 153; Br. M. I. 121;
Br. M. II. 200.

هر جرعه که ساقیش بخاک ^۱ افشارد
در دیده گرم ^۲ آتش غم ^۳ بنشاند
سبحان الله تو باد ^۴ می پنداری
آبی که زصد درد دلت برها ناد

^۱ BN II: ساقی ساقیش بجان: Bodl. II, Br. M. III, Br. M. I: .
— . دیده کسی : دیده کشی : Br. M. III: . بخاک
^۳ R I: . دل: باده . — ^۴ R I, Br. M. I: .

LXI (No. 61).

BN I. 188; BN II. 63; R I. 42; Bodl. I, 29; BN IVa. 31.
Bodl. II. 60; Calc. I. 58; Berl. 70; Br. M. III. 26; MA. 49;
Br. M. I. 108; Br. M. II. 92.

در پرده اسرار کسی را ره نیست
زین تعییه جان هیچکس آگه نیست
جز در دل خاک هیچ ^۱ منزلگه نیست
می خور که چنین فسانها ^۲ کوته نیست

^۱ BN I; بشنو که چنین فسانها — ^۲ BN II, R I: . پیش Bodl. II, Berl.: می خور که زمانها چنین: Br. M. III: ; می خور که چنین زمانها: Br. M. I: . بی اد. کن فسانها: .

LXII

(No. 41).

BN I. 189; BN II. 124; R I. 14; Bodl. I. 12; BN IVa, 14.
Bodl. II. 98; Calc. I. 93; Berl. 133; Br. M. III. 87; MA. 58;
Br. M. I. 56; Br. M. II. 93.

امروز ترا دسترس ^۱ فردا نیست
واندیشه ^۲ فردات بجز سودا ^۳ نیست
ضایع مکن این دم ار ^۴ دلت شیدا نیست
کین باقی عمر را بها ^۵ پیدا نیست

^۱ Bodl. II, Berl., Br. M. III, MA, Br. M. I: . دستگه — ^۲ BN I, Bodl. II., Br. M. III: . — ^۳ Br. M. III: . فردا — ^۴ Bodl. II, Berl., Br. M. III, MA, Br. M. I: . که — ^۵ BN II, Br. M. III: . بهانه.

LXIII

(No. 215).

BN I. 190; BN II. 149; R I. 74; Bodl. I. 42; BN IVa. 45.
Bodl. II. 117; Calc. I. 112; Berl. 161; Br. M. III. 98; MA.
105; Br. M. II. 124.

هر کو رقمی نعقل در ^۱ دل بنگاشت
یک لحظه ز عمر ^۲ خویش ضایع نگذاشت
یا در طلب رضای یزدان ^۳ کوشید
یا راحت خود ^۴ گزید و ساغر ^۵ برداشت

^۱ BN I, Bodl. I, BN IVa: . ز عشق بر — ^۲ BN I: . یکذره ز عمر: — ^۳ R I: . یکروزه ز عمر: Bodl. II: . یکروزه ز عمر: — ^۴ BN I, Bodl. I, BN IVa: . ایزد: — ^۵ MA: . در دم: . تن:

LXIV

(No. 214).

BN I. 192; BN II. 201; R I. 29; Bodl. I. 18; BN IVa. 20.
 Bodl. II. 116; Calc. I. 111; Berl. 160; Br. M. III. 97; MA.
 114; Br. M. II. 123.

تا چند نتم بروی دریاها خشت

بیزار شدم ز^۱ بت پرستان کنشت^۲

خیام که گفت دوزخی خواهد بود^۳

که رفت بدوزخ و که آمد زیست^۴

^۱ Bodl. II, Br. M. III, MA: Berl.: نومید نیم چو آزاد شدم چو.
 — ^۲ R I: — پرستان بهشت: Br. M. III: پرستان و کنشت^۳ Berl.,
 Br. M. III: (Berl.: (?)) امشب من و شبیه جهودان کنشت Bodl.
 II, MA: — امشب من و شبیه و جهودان و کنشت^۴ Bodl. II, Berl.,
 Br. M. III, MA: می خواهم و معشوق چه دوزخ چه بهشت.

LXV

(No. 446).

BN I. 193; BN II. 99; R I. 177; Bodl. I. 100; BN IVa. 132.
 Bodl. II. 223; Calc. I. 253; Br. M. III. 245; MA. 257; Br.
 M. I. 206; Br. M. II. 314.

لب بر لب کوزه بردم از غایت آز^۱

تا زو طلیم واسطه^۲ عمر دراز

لب بر لب من نهاد و می گفت براز^۳

عمری چو تو بوده ام دمی^۴ با من^۵ ساز^۶

^۱ Br. M. III, MA: — ناز: — ^۲ Bodl. II: رابطه: — ^۳ BN II: BN II: کوزه بزبان حال بامن میگفت: R I: — با من بزبان حال میگفت سبو
 Bodl. II, Br. M. III, MA, Br. M. I: — ^۴ Br. M. III: — ^۵ MA: — ^۶ BN I, Bodl. I, BN IVa:
 می خور که بدین جهان نمی آیی باز.

LXVI

(No. 29).

BN I. 194; BN II. 241; R I. 8; Bodl. I. 7; BN IVa. 9.
 Bodl. II. 17; Calc. I. 17; Berl. 25; Br. M. III. 9; Br. M.
 II. 16; BN V. 13.

ما و می و مصتبه و تون^۱ خراب

جان و دل و جام و جامه در رهن شراب^۲

فارغ ز امید رحمت و بیم عذاب^۳

آزاد^۴ ز خاک و باد^۵ و از آتش و آب

^۱ BN II, R I: ما و می و معشوق درین کنج خراب: Bodl. II, Berl., — .
^۲ BN I: ما و می و مطرب و این کنج خراب: Br. M. III, BN V: جان و دل و جای و جامه در BN II: جان و دل و جام و جامه در: Bodl. I, BN IVa, Bodl. II, Berl., Br. M. III: جان: شراب — .
^۳ BN I, Bodl. I and BN IVa interchange the second and the third hemistich. — ^۴ BN II: آزاد: Bodl. II: — .
^۵ BN I: زیاد خاک:

LXVII

(No. 74).

BN I. 195; BN II. 205; R I. 39; BN III. 65; Bodl. I. 22;
 BN IVa. 24.

Bodl. II. 63; Calc. I. 61; Berl. 74; Br. M. III. 29; Br.
 M I. 104; Br. M. II. 134.

خیام که خیمهای حکمت می دوخت

در کوره^۱ غم فتاد و ناگاه^۲ بسوخت^۳

مقراضن اجل طاب عمرش ببرید^۴

دلال امل^۵ برایگانش بفروخت

^۱ BN III: — . فتاد ناگاه و: — . بوته: — .
^۲ Br. M. III: — . ناگاه بوته در افتاد و بسوخت
^۳ — .
^۴ BN I, Bodl. I, BN IVa, Bodl. II: — . عمرش چو ببرید: Br. M. III: عمرش ببرید.
^۵ BN III: — . Bodl. II, Berl., Br. M. III, Br. M. I: قضا.

LXVIII

(No. 411).

BN I. 198; BN II. 100; R I. 161; BN III. 71; Bodl. I. 89;
 BN IV a. 121.
 Bodl. II. 209; Calc. I. 232; MA. 235; Br. M. II. 307; R II. 33.

دی کوزه گری بدم اندر بازار
 بر تازه ^۱ گلی لکد همی زد بسیار
 و آن ^۲ گل بنبان حال با او می گفت
 من همچو تو بوده ام مرا نیکو دار

^۱ R II: — ^۲ Bodl. II: آن: پاره.

LXIX

(No. 472).

BN I. 200; BN II. 266; R I. 162; Bodl. I. 90; BN IVa. 122.
 MA. 215; Br. M. I. 187; Br. M. II. 283, 347; BN V. 31.

ز آن ^۱ می که حیات ^۲ جاودانیست بخور
 سر ماية لذت جوانیست بخور
 سوزنده چو آتش است لیکن غم را ^۳
 سازنده چو آب زندگانیست بخور

^۱ BN II, MA, Br. M. I, BN V: آن. — ^۲ R I: شراب. — ^۳ BN I: ازغم.

LXX

(No. 350).

BN I. 202; BN II. 311; BN III. 63; Bodl. I. 62; BN IVa. 80.
 Calc. I. 182; Berl. 226; Br. M. III. 169; MA. 192; Br.
 M. I. 153; Br. M. II. 226.

تا چرخ فلک ^۱ بر آسمان گشت پدید ^۲
 بهتر زمی لعل کسی هیچ ندید ^۳
 من در عجبم زمی فروشان کایشان ^۴
 به ز آنکه ^۵ فروشند چه خواهند خرد

^۱ BN I: — ^۲ Bodl. I, BN IVa: تا آنکه شراب پرده
 تا زهره و مه بر آسمانند پدید: — ^۳ Bodl. I, BN IVa: تا جان دارم نخواهم ازیاده برید
 — ^۴ Berl.: که زین که؛ به زین که فروشان جهان
 Br. M. I: به زانچه.

LXXI

(No. 588).

BN I, 203; R I, 253; BN III, 25; Bodl. I, 128; BN IVa.
 190.

Bodl. II, 314; Calc. I, 345; Br. M. III, 316; Br. M. II, 437.

توان دل شاد را بغم فرسودن
 وقت خوش خود ^۱ بستگ محت ^۲ سودن
 در دهر که ^۳ داند که چه خواهد بودن
 می باید و معشوق و بکام ^۴ آسودن

^۱ Br. M. III: — ^۲ BN III: — ^۳ BN I, Bodl. I,
 BN IVa: در عهده که کس غیب چه
^۴ BN I, R I, Bodl. II, Br. M. III: معشوق بکام.

LXXII

(No. 435).

BN I, 204; BN II, 346; R I, 175; Bodl. I, 99; BN IVa, 131.
 Bodl. II, 216; Calc. I, 246; MA, 249; Br. M. II, 323;
 R II, 47.

کردیم دگر شیوه رندی آغاز
 تکبیر همی ^۱ زنیم بر پنج نماز
 هر جا که پیاله ایست مارا بینی
 گردن چو صراحی سوی ^۲ او کرده دراز

^۱ BN II: — ^۲ R I: پی.

LXXXIII

(No. 489).

BN I. 207; Bodl. I. 107; BN IVa. 142.

Bodl. II. 247; Calc. I. 279; Br. M. III. 254; Br. M. I. 214;

Br. M. II. 360. تاکی زا بد حدیث و تاکی زا زل^۱بگذشت ز اندازه من علم^۲ و عملهنگام طرب شراب را^۳ نیست بدل

هر مشکل را شراب گرداند حل

تاکی زاحد: Br. M. III: تاکی ز حدیث و تاکی از روز ازل: Br. M. III:

— زاندازه علم^۲ — . حدیث و تاکی ز اجل^۳: Bodl. II, Br. M. III, Br. M. I: Bodl. I and BN IVa interchange the second and the third hemistich.

LXXXIV

(No. 2).

BN I. 208; RI. 1; BN IVb. 7.

Bodl. II. 6; Calc. 3; Berl. 4; Br. M. III. 4; MA. 13.

ای دوست دگر^۱ طعنه مزن مستانراگر توبه دهد^۲ توبه کنم^۳ یزدانراتو غرّه مشو بدان که می^۵ نخورمصد کار کنی^۶ که می غلامست آنرا^۷^۱ BN I, RI: تا بتوانی; Bodl. II, Berl., Br. M. III, MA: — .^۲ Bodl. II, Br. M. III, MA: گر می خوری — .^۳ Br. M. III:بنیاد مکن: RI: زاز باده کسی توبه دهد انسانرا: — .^۴ BN I: توبه تو کنتو فخر: Bodl. II, Berl., Br. M. III, MA: — .^۵ تو حیله و دستانراصد لقمه خوری: Bodl. II, Berl.: — .⁶ BN I: بدان (بدین) کنی که من— .⁷ BN I: اوزا.

LXXXV

(No. 267).

BN I. 209; BN II. 288; RI. 95; BN IVb. 113.

Calc. I. 163; Br. M. III. 150; MA. 158; Br. M. I. 163;

Br. M. II. 196.

امشب پی جام^۱ یک منی خواهم کرد
خودرا بدو رطل^۲ می غنی خواهم کرد
اول سه طلاق عقل و دین خواهم داد^۳
پس دختر رزرا بزنی خواهم کرد

^۱ BN IVb; امشب می وجام: Br. M. I: Br. M. III;
MA: — ^۲ Br. M. III, MA, Br. M. I: — ^۳ BN II,
BN IVb, Br. M. III: گفت.

LXXVI

(No. 13).

BN II. 299; RI. 5; BN IVb. 8.
Bodl. II. 11; Calc. I. 12; Berl. 13; Br. M. III. 7; MA. 6;
Br. M. I. 12; Br. M. II. 6; BN V. 9.

چون فوت شوم^۱ بیاده شویید^۲ مرا
تلقین ز شراب وجام^۳ گویید مرا
خواهید بروز^۴ حشر یاید^۵ مرا
در^۶ خاک در میکده جویید مرا

^۱ BN II: گر در گذرم: RI: — ^۲ Bodl. II: زیاده — ^۳ Bodl. II: چون در گذرم — ^۴ BN II: RI: زشراب ناب: — ^۵ BN II: بیمی بشویید: Br. M. I: شویید — ^۶ BN IVb: خواهی که بروز: Bodl. II, Berl., Br. M. III, Br. M. I, BN V: پویید — ^۷ RI, Bodl. II, Berl., Br. M. III, MA, Br. M. I, BN V: از.

LXXVII

(No. 40).

BN II. 95; RI. 10; Bodl. I. 19; BN IVa. 21.
Bodl. II. 69; Calc. I. 66; Berl. 82; Br. M. III. 33; MA. 63;
Br. M. II. 29.

Ta'ríkh-i-Jahán-gushá, I, p. 128.

ترکیب^۱ پیاله که در هم^۲ پیوست
 بشکستن آن روا^۳ نمی دارد^۴ مست

چندین سر و پای^۵ نازنین از سر دست^۶
از مهر که پیوست و بکین که شکست

^۱ BN II, RI, Bodl. II, Br. M. III: — ^۲ R I, Bodl. I, BN IVa: — ^۳ BN II, R I: Bodl. II, Berl., Br. M. III; MA: آن بکا او بکا — ^۴ Bodl. II, Berl., Br. M. III, MA: سر و دست — ^۵ R I: Bodl. II, Berl., Br. M. III: از سر و دست — ^۶ Bodl. II: سر ساق: MA: سر و ساق: و سر دست: Br. M. III: MA: و سر دست: Berl.:

LXXVIII

(No. 42).

BN II. 37; R I. 18; BN IV b. 61.
Bodl. II. 22; Calc. I. 22; Berl. 32; MA. 26; Br. M. I. 49;
Br. M. II. 27.

ای چرک فلک خرایی از ^۱ کینه تست
بیدادگری پیشة ^۲ دیرینه تست
ای ^۳ خاک اگر دل ترا ^۴ بشکافند
بس گوهر قیمتی که در سینه تست

^۱ BN IVb: — ^۲ BN IVb: — ^۳ RI: — عادت . دلم پراز . سنته تو: وحمد تو: R I, Bodl. II, Berl., MA, Br. M. I: .

LXXIX

(No. 44).

BN II. 73; R I. 72; BN IVb. 59.

Bodl. II. 47; Calc. I. 44; Berl. 59; Br. M. III. 14; MA. 37;
Br. M. I. 25; Br. M. II. 42.

هر دل^۱ که در و مهر و محبت^۲ بسرشت
خواه اهل سجاده باش خواه اهل کنشت
در دفتر^۴ عشق نام هر کس که^۵ نوشت
آزاد ز دوزخست^۶ و فارغ ز پهشت

¹ BN II: — ² BN IV b: تخم محبت; Bodl. II, Berl., Br. M. III, MA, Br. M. I: هر کس. — ³ BN II, RI: نور محبت. — ⁴ Bodl. II, Berl., Br. M. III, MA: روضه. — ⁵ BN IV b, Bodl. II, Berl., Br. M. III, MA, Br. M. I: هر کرا نام. — ⁶ BN II: دوزخند.

LXXX (No. 45).

BN II. 78; RI. 50.

Bodl. II. 33; Calc. I. 33; Berl. 42; Br. M. I. 75.

R III. 11.

Quoted by Najmu'd-dín Rází.

دوری که درو آمدن و رفتن مانست
اورا نه بدایت نه نهایت ^۱ پیداست
کس می نزند دمی در این معنی راست
کین آمدن از کجا و رفتن بکجاست ^۲

¹ Bodl. II: — ² BN II: . نهایت نه بدایت: R III: بدایت و نهایت: زکجاست.

LXXXI (No. 62).

BN II. 64; RI. 73; BN III. 20; BN IV b. 57.

Bodl. II. 48; Calc. I. 45; Berl. 60; Br. M. III. 15; MA. 38;
Br. M. I. 85; Br. M. II. 49.

هر سبزه که بر کنار جویی رستست ^۱
گویی زلب ^۲ فرشته خوی رستست ^۳
پا بر سر سبزه تا ^۴ بخواری ننهی
کان سبزه ^۵ زخاک ^۶ ماهروی رستست

¹ RI has instead of بودست رستست in the rhyming hemistiches. — ² RI: که خط ³ رستست is wanting in BN III. — ⁴ Bodl. II, Berl., Br. M. III, MA, Br. M. I: تا بر سر سبزه پا. — ⁵ Bodl. II, Berl.: لا له. — ⁶ Bodl. II: زسفاء.

LXXXII

(No. 69).

BN II. 137; R I. 32; BN III. 22; BN IV b. 60.
 Bodl. II. 55; Calc. I. 52; Berl. 64; Br. M. III. 21; MA 42;
 Br. M. I. 81; Br. M. II. 52.

چندین غم مال و حسرت^۱ دنیا چیست
 هرگز دیدی کسی که^۲ جاوید بزیست
 این یکدو نفس^۳ که در تن^۴ عاریتیست
 با عاریتی عاریتی باید زیست

^۱ Bodl. II, Berl., Br. M. III, MA, Br. M. I: —
 — ^۲ Bodl. II: — ^۳ Bodl. II, Berl., Br. M. III,
 MA, Br. M. I: — ^۴ Br. M. I: — . یکنفسی — تنم.

LXXXIII

(No. 80).

BN II. 45; R I. 70; Bodl. I. 41; BN IV a. 44.
 Calc. I. 64; Berl. 80; Br. M. III. 31; MA. 61; Br. M. II. 86.

نیکی و بدی که در نهاد بشرست
 شادی و غمی که در قضا و قدرست
 با چرخ مکن حواله کاندر ره عقل^۱
 چرخ از تو هزار بار بیچاره^۲ ترست

^۱ Berl., Br. M. III, MA: — ^۲ MA: برجسته.

LXXXIV

(No. 92).

BN II. 286; R I. 68; BN IV b. 55.
 Bodl. II. 62; Calc. I. 60; Berl. 73; Br. M. III. 28; Br. M. I.
 103; Br. M. II. 133.

می خوردن من نه از^۱ برای طربست
 نز^۲ بهر فساد^۳ و ترک دین^۴ و ادبست
 خواهم که دمی زخویشتن باز رهم^۵
 می خوردن و مست بودنم زین^۶ سبیست

^۱ Bodl. II, Br. M. I: از . من از . — ^۲ Br. M. III: از ; Br. M. I: و) ترک دین : نشاط . — ^۴ Berl.: is wanting); Br. M. I: ^۵ BN IVb, Bodl. II, Berl., Br. M. III, Br. M. I: — ^۶ R I: خواهم که به بیخودی برآرم نفسی . این : زآن ; BN IVb:

LXXXV

(No. 103).

BN II. 94; RI. 40.

Bodl. II. 57; Calc. I. 71; Berl. 87; Br. M. III. 59; MA. 74; Br. M. I. 44; Br. M. II. 97.

Quoted by Najmu'd-dín Rází.

دارنده چو ترکیب طبایع آراست
باز از چه سبب فگندش اندر ^۱ کم و کاست
گر نیک آمد شکستن از بھر چه بود
ور ^۲ نیک نیامد این صور عیب ^۳ کراست ^۴

^۱ BN II: از بھر چه او فگندش اندر ; از بھر چه رو فگندش اندر RI: — ^۲ BN II: گر باز از چه فگندیش از ; Bodl. I, Br. M. III: — ^۴ Berl., MA and Br. M. I interchange the two last hemistiches and give them in the following form: گر نیک نیامد این صور عیب کراست ور نیک آمد خرایش بھر چراست.

LXXXVI

(Nr. 114).

Bodl. II 54; RI. 28; BN IVb. 56.

Bodl. II. 52; Calc. I. 50; Berl. 68; Br. M. III. 18; MA. 46; Br. M. I. 83; Br. M. II. 26.

پیش از من و تو لیل و نهاری بودست
گردنده فلک نیز بکاری ^۱ بودست
زنهار قدم بخاک آهسته نهی
کان مردمک چشم نگاری بودست

^۱ BN II, BN IVb: براى کاري; Bodl. II, Berl., Br. M. III, MA: ز بهر کاري.

LXXXVII

(No. 115).

BN II. 312; R I. 41; BN IVb. 51.
Bodl. II. 115; Calc. I. 110; Berl. 159; Br. M. III. 96; Br. M. II. 122.

در بزم خرد عقل دليل سره گفت
در روم و عرب ميمنه و ميسره گفت
گر نااهلي گفت که می ناسره است^۱
من چون شنوم چونگه^۲ خدا ميسره گفت

که گويدت می سره نيسست: بر. M. III: بگويدت می سره نيسست.
— کي شنوم زآنکه Br. M. III: — می سره نيسست.
ميشنوم زآنکه.

LXXXVIII

(No. 122).

BN II. 297; R I. 78; BN IVb. 52.
Bodl. II. 61; Calc. I. 59; Berl. 72; Br. M. I. 102; Br. M. II. 132.

يک جرعة می زملک کاووس به است
وز خخت قباد و ملکت^۱ طوس به است
هر ناله که رندی بسحرگاه زند^۲
از نعرة^۳ زاهدان سالوس به است

هر آه که رندی بسحرگاه: — R I: Br. M. III: ملک: مسند: — . ملک: هر ناله که عاشقی برآرد بسحر Bodl. II, Berl., Br. M. I: Br. M. III: — . هر نعرة عاشقی برآرد بسحر BN. II, R I, BN IVb, Br. M. I: ناله.

LXXXIX

(No. 191).

BN II. 305; R I. 9; BN IVb. 53.
Bodl. II. 90; Calc. I. 84; Berl. 119; Br. M. III. 81; MA. 87;
Br. M. I. 68; Br. M. II. 64.

ابر آمد وزار^۱ بر سر سبزه گریست
 بی باده گلرنگ^۲ نمی شاید^۳ زیست
 این سبزه خود^۴ امروز تماشاگه ماست
 تا سبزه خاک ما تماشاگه کیست

^۱ R I, Bodl. II, Berl., Br. M. III, MA, Br. M. I: باز. —
^۲ Bodl. II, Berl., Br. M. III, MA, Br. M. I: —^۳ BN II,
 R I, Bodl. II, Br. M. III, Br. M. I: باید; MA: —^۴ BN II,
 R I, Bodl. II, Berl., Br. M. III, MA, Br. M. I: که.

XC (No. 194).

BN II. 18; R I. 17; BN IVb. 63.
 Bodl. II. 93; Calc. I. 87; Berl. 122; MA. 90; Br. M. I. 58;
 Br. M. II. 67.

یزدان^۱ چو^۲ گل وجود ما می^۳ آراست
 دانست ز فعل ما چه بر خواهد خاست
 بی حکمش نیست هر گناهی^۴ که هراست
 پس سوختن قیامت از بهر چه خواست^۵

^۱ R I: ایزد. —^۲ BN II, BN IVb: که. —^۳ Bodl. II, Berl.,
 MA, Br. M. I: —^۴ Bodl. II: نیست گناهی. —^۵ R I: روز مارا.
 قیامت از بهر چراست; BN IVb, Bodl. II: کجاست.

XCI (No. 195).

BN II. 25; R I. 53; Bodl. I. 31; BN IVa. 33.
 Calc. I. 89; Berl. 123; Br. M. III. 83; MA. 91; Br. M. I. 59;
 Br. M. II. 74.

زین پیش^۱ نشان بودنیها بودست
^۲ پیوسته قلم زنیک وید ناسودست
 اندر تقدير^۳ آنچه بایست بداد^۴
 غم خوردن و کوشیدن ما بیهودست

¹ Berl., MA, Br. M. I.: Br. M. III: — بی لوح — ² Berl., Br. M. III, MA, Br. M. I.: آسودست — ³ RI: Bodl. I, BN IVa: در روز ازل هر — ⁴ MA, Br. M. I.: BN II: شد او.

XCII

(No. 217).

BN II. 23; R I. 66; BN IV b. 49.

Bodl. II. 119; Calc. I. 113; Berl. 163; MA. 107; Br. M. I. 90.

من بندۀ عاصیم رضای تو کجاست
در کنج دلم نور و صفائی ¹ تو کجاست
ما را تو بیهشت اگر بطاعت بخشی ²
این بیع بود لطف و عطای تو کجاست

¹ BN II: Tariikh Dlm Nour; Tariikh Dlm Nour و صفائی در کنج دلم نور: Br. M. I: در کنج دلم نور و ضیای: Berl., MA: صفائی Bodl. II: بدھی: — ².

XCIII

(No. 229).

BN II. 51; R I. 81; Bodl. I. 47; BN IVa. 65.

Bodl. II. 130; Calc. I. 120; Berl. 195; Br. M. III. 108;
MA. 126; Br. M. I. 116; Br. M. II. 152.

چون عمر همی رود ¹ چه بغداد و چه بلخ ²
پیمانه چو پر شود ³ چه شیرین و چه تلخ ⁴
می خور که پس از من و تو این ماه بسی ⁵
از سلخ بغره آید از غرّه به سلخ

— . چون میگذرد عمر: — ¹ Bodl. II, Berl., Br. M. III, MA, Br. M. I: ² چه شیرین و چه تلخ: ³ R I, Bodl. II, Berl., Br. M. III, MA, Br. M. I: ⁴ R I, Bodl. II, Br. M. III: — . چون جان بلب آمد: ⁵ BN II: چه نشاپور چه بلخ: Berl.: چه بغداد و چه بلخ: MA: خوش باش که بعد از من: — . چه نشاپور و چه بلخ: Br. M. I:

می خور که بسی ماه بر این چرخ کهن: و تو ماه بسی
می نوش که Br. M. I.: می نوش گه بعد از من و تو ماه بسی
بی من و تو این ماه بسی.

XCIV

(No. 232).

BN II. 55; R I. 125; Bodl. I. 51; BN IV a. 69.
Bodl. II. 135; Calc. I. 124; Berl. 232; Br. M. III. 113;
MA. 129; Br. M. II. 153.

زآوردن من ^۱ نبود گردون را سود
وز بردن من جاه و جلالش ^۲ نفرود
وز ^۳ هیچ کسی نیز دو گوشم نشنود
کاوردن و بردن من ^۴ از بهر چه ^۵ بود

^۱ Bodl. II, BN IV a: — از آمدنم ^۲ Bodl. I, BN IV a: وز رفتن: —
^۳ BN II, — وز بردن من جاه و جمالش: Berl.: من جمال و جاهش
کین آمدن و رفتن: — ^۴ Bodl. I, BN IV a: از . —
^۵ Berl.: تو.

XCV

(No. 234).

BN II. 134; R I. 89; BN IV b. 102.
Bodl. II. 140; Calc. I. 126; Br. M. III. 115; MA. 134; Br.
M. II. 267.

آنکس که زمین و چرخ و افلاتک نهاد
بس داغ که او ^۱ بر ^۲ دل غمناک نهاد
بسیار لب چو لعل و زلفین ^۳ چو مشک ^۴
در طبل زمین و حقه خاکش نهاد
لب لعل و سر زلف: — ^۳ R I: — ^۲ Bodl. II: در: ^۱ داغ بلا: .
— ^۴ BN IV b: سیاه.

XCVI

(No. 235).

BN II. 320; R I. 110; BN IV b. 112.

Bodl. II. 141; Calc. I. 127; Berl. 235; Br. M. III. 116; MA. 136; Br. M. II. 165.

خورشید کمند صبح بر بام افگند
کیخسرو روز باده^۱ در جام افگند
می خور که منادی سحرگه^۲ خیزان
آوازه اشربوا در ایام افگند

^۱ Bodl. II: — . مهر روز: ^۲ MA: Br. M. III: روز مهر: . مؤذن صبوحی:

XCVII

(No. 245).

BN II. 223; R I. 97; Bodl. I. 60; BN IVa. 78.
Bodl. II. 142; Calc. I. 228; Berl. 236; Br. M. III. 117; MA. 138; Br. M. II. 265.

این قافله عمر عجب میگذرد
دریاب دمی^۱ که با^۲ طرب میگذرد
ساق غم فردای حریفان^۳ چه خوری
پیش آر پیاله^۴ که شب میگذرد

^۱ R I: — ^۲ R I, Bodl. II, Berl., Br. M. III, MA: از: . شبی: —
^۳ R I, MA: Br. M. III: — ^۴ R I: عزیزان: . قیامت: ; پیش آر پیاله را: در ده قدح باده: . Bodl. I, BN IVa:

XCVIII

(No. 308).

BN II. 212; R I. 126; Bodl. I. 69; BN IVa. 86.
Bodl. II. 166; Calc. I. 146; Br. M. III. 133; Br. M. I. 132;
Br. M. II. 178.

زنهاز مرا نجام می^۱ قوت کنید
وین چهره کهربا چو^۲ یاقوت کنید
چون در گذرم^۳ بی بشویید مرا
وز چوب رزم تخته تابوت^۴ کنید^۵

¹ Bodl. II: ای همنفسان بمی مرا: Br. M. III: ای همنفسان مرا بمی
 Br. M. I: وین رنگ چو کهربای — ² Bodl. II: زنهارزجام می مرا
 Br. M. III: وین رنگ چو کهربا چو ³ Bodl. II, Br. M. III: —
 تخته و تابوت: Br. M. I: تخته یاقوت (!) — ⁴ BN II: گر مرده شوم
⁵ R I has in the rhyming hemistichs and in the بشویند third hem.

XCIX

(No. 349).

BN II. 287; R I. 128; BN IV b. 156.
 Calc. I. 181; Br. M. III. 168; MA. 191; Br. M. I. 152; Br. M. II. 225.

طبع همه با روی چو گل پیوندد ¹
 دستم همه با ساغر مل ² پیوندد
 از هر جزوی نصیب خود بستانم ³
 زآن پیش که جزوها ⁴ بکل پیوندد ⁵

¹ Br. M. III has پیوندد in the rhyming hemistichs. —
² Br. M. III, MA: ساغر و مل — ³ R I, Br. M. III, Br. M. I:
 چو ما: — ⁴ MA: چو ما: — ⁵ BN IV b: همه کل گردد against the rhyme.

C

(No. 380).

BN II. 292; R I. 134; BN IV b. 157.
 Bodl. II. 195; Calc. I. 170; Br. M. III. 157; MA. 171; Br. M. I. 125; Br. M. II. 206.

گر باده بکوه بر زنی رقص کند
 ناقص بود آنکه باده را نقص کند
 از باده مرا توبه چه میفرمائی
 روحیست که او تربیت شخص کند

No variants.

CI

(No. 397).

BN II. 325; R I. 160; BN IV b. 119.
 Bodl. II. 202; Calc. I. 225; Br. M. III. 222; MA. 222; Br. M. I. 194; Br. M. II. 301.

خشت سر خم زملکت جم خوشر^۱
 بوی قدح از غذای مریم^۲ خوشر^۳
 آه سحری^۴ ز سینه خماری
 از ناله بو سعید^۵ و ادهم^۶ خوشر

^۱ BN II: يك جزعه ميم زملکت جم خوشر: BN IV b, Br. M. III and MA have in the rhyming hemistichs. — ^۲ Bodl. II: وز زمزمه عيسى مریم خوشر: — ^۳ BN II: .صفای زمزم — ^۴ BN II: .بایزید — ^۵ BN IV b: (!) — ^۶ BN IV b: .آه سحر و مریم.

CII

(No. 402).

BN II. 224; R I. 165; BN III. 21; BN IV b. 120.
 Calc. I. 220; MA. 214; Br. M. I. 186; Br. M. II. 294; BN V. 30.

وقت سحر^۱ است خیز ای طرفه^۲ پسر
 پر باده لعل کن^۳ بلورین ساغر
 کین یکدم^۴ عاریت درین کنج فنا^۵
 بسیار بجوانی و نیایی دیگر

^۱ BN II: ساده — ^۲ BN V: سفر — ^۳ BN IV b: طرب — ^۴ BN IV b, MA, BN V: پر باده کن این جام BN III. — ^۵ MA, BN I: کنج خراب; BN V: دیر فنا.

CIII

(No. 409).

BN II. 76; R I. 159; BN III. 14; BN IV b. 118.
 Bodl. II. 205; Calc. I. 230; Br. M. III. 51; MA. 234; Br. M. I. 197; Br. M. II. 303; R II. 31.

چون حاصل آدمی درین دیر^۱ دو در
 جز خون دل ودادن جان نیست^۲ دگر
 خرم دل آنکسی که معروف نشد^۳
 وآسوده^۴ کسی که خود^۵ نزاد از مادر

^۱ BN IVb; بروخوان: Bodl. II, MA,
 Br. M. I, RII: — . درین جان
 Bodl. II: جز درد دل ودادن جان نیست: Br. M. III, RII: جز درد دل
 Bodl. II: جز درد دل و زحمت جان نیست: MA: ودادن جان نیست
 ; آنکه شد بطفلی آزاد: BN IVb: — . جز درد دل و محنت جان نیست
 Bodl. II: آنکه یکنفس پیش نبود: Br. M. III, Br. M. I, RII: آنکه یکنفس
 MA: — . آنکه یکنفس زنده شود: BN IVb, Br.
 M. III: آسوده. — ^۵ Bodl. II, Br. M. III, Br. M. I: او.

CIV
 (No. 423).

BN II. 4; RI. 176; BN III. 8; Bodl. I. 1; BN IVa. 1.
 Bodl. II. 214; Calc. I. 244; MA. 247; Br. M. II. 316;
 RII. 45.

گر گوهر طاعت نسفتم هرگز
 گرد گنه از چهره^۱ نرفتم هرگز
 با این همه نومید نیم از^۲ کرمت
 زان رو^۳ که یکی را دو نگفتم هرگز

^۱ BN III, MA: ور گرد گنه زرخ: Bodl. II: — . ورخاک رهت بدل
^۲ RI, BN III, Bodl. II, MA, RII: — . نومید نیم زبارگاه: ^۳ RI,
 Bodl. II, MA, RII: زیرا.

CV
 (No. 462).

BN II. 278; RI. 188; BN IVb. 154.

Bodl. II. 235; Calc. I. 265; Br. M. III. 237; Br. M. II. 343.

سر مست بیخانه گذر کردم دوش
 پیری دیدم مست و سبوئی بر^۱ دوش

گفتم زخدا شرم نداری ای پیر
گفتا کرم از خداست² می نوش و خموش³

¹ Bodl. II: مست و سبوئی در; Br. M. III: مست سبوئی بر; — Bodl. II: کرم خداست — ³ R I: Bodl. II, Br. M. III: رو باده بنوش.

CVI (No. 511).

BN II. 243; R I. 228; BN IVb. 181.

Bodl. II. 271; Calc. I. 291; Br. M. III. 274; Br. M. II. 411.

گفتم که دگر باده گلگون نخورم
می خون رزانست دگر خون نخورم
پیر خردم گفت بجد میگوئی
گفتم که مزاح میکنم¹ چون نخورم

¹ Br. M. III: که مزاح که میکنم.

CVII (No. 518).

BN II. 245; R I. 235; BN IV b. 182.

Bodl. II. 284; Calc. I. 293; Br. M. III. 276; Br. M. II. 373.

میلم بشراب ناب باشد دائم
گوشم بنی ورباب باشد دائم
گر خاک مرا کوزه گران کوزه کنند
آن کوزه پر از شراب باشد دائم

No variants.

CVIII (No. 527).

BN II. 302; R I. 238; BN IVb. 173.

Bodl. II. 275; Calc. I. 300; Br. M. III. 267; Br. M. I. 244;
Br. M. II. 380; R II. 52.

یکدست بمصحفیم و یکدست^۱ بجام

گه مرد حلالیم گهی مرد^۲ حرام

مائیم درین گبید فیروزه رخام^۳

نه^۴ کافر مطلق نه مسلمان تمام

^۱ Bodl. II: — . بمصحفیم یکدست؛ گه نزد حلالیم گهی^۲ BN II: R I, Bodl. II: گه نزد حلالیم و گهی^۳ BN II: R I: گبید و نه پخته نه خام^۴ BN II: R I: گه مرد حلالیم و گهی^۵ BN II: (!) Br. M. III: گبید فیروزه حام Bodl. II: گبید نه پخته نه خام^۶ BN II: R II: گبید فیروزه فام^۷.

CIX

(No. 550).

BN II. 293; R I. 200; BN IV b. 176.

Bodl. II. 290; Calc. I. 313; Br. M. III. 288; Br. M. I. 236;
Br. M. II. 399.

بی باده مباش تا توانی یکدم^۱

کر باده شود عقل و دل و دین خرم^۲

ابليس اگر باده بخوردي يك دم^۳

کردي دو هزار سجده پيش آدم

^۱ BN II, R I: از باده شود زسر تکبرها کم Bodl. II, Br. M. I:
^۲ BN II, R I, Bodl. II, Br. M. I: از باده شود تکبر از سرها نم
کر باده شود عقل و دل دین محکم Br. M. III: وز باده شود گشاده بند محکم
— ^۳ BN II, R I: اگر ز باده خوردي جامي.

CX

(No. 581).

BN II. 33; R I. 240; BN IV b. 193.

Bodl. II. 295; Calc. I. 340; Br. M. III. 310; Br. M. II. 443.

اسرار ازلرا نه تو داني و نه من

وين حرف معماً نه تو خوانی و نه من

هست از پس پرده گفتگوی من و تو
چون پرده بر افتاد نه تو مانی و نه من

No variants.

CXI

(No. 586).

BN II. 232; R I. 254; BN IV b. 192.

Bodl. II. 302; Calc. I. 343; Br. M. III. 314; Br. M. I. 247;

Br. M. II. 446.

ننگست^۱ بنام نیک^۲ مشهور شدن
عارضت ز جور چرخ رنجور شدن
خمور^۳ بیوی آب انگور شدن
به ز آنکه برهد خویش مغروف^۴ شدن

^۱ R I: . بنام و ننگ: — ^۲ Bodl. II: . ننگی است: — ^۳ BN II, R I,
Bodl. II, Br. M. I: . مشهور: — ^۴ R I: . خمّار: — BN II mingles
together no. 232 and no. 233 and interchanges the second
and the fourth hemistich of no. 232.

CXII

(No. 605).

BN II. 53; R I. 246; Bodl. I. 124; BN IVa. 186.

Bodl. II. 311; Calc. I. 352; Br. M. III. 323; Br. M. II. 451.

چون حاصل آدمی درین شورستان
جز خوردن غصه نیست یا کندن جان^۱
خرّم دل آنکه زین جهان زود برفت
آسوده^۲ کسی که خود^۳ نیامد بجهان^۴

^۱ Bodl. II: . جز خوردن غم نبود کار دل و جان: Br. M. III:
^۲ BN II, R I: . خوردن باده نیست بار دل و جان: — ^۳ BN
^۴ Bodl. II substitutes the last hemistich of no.
606: . خوش: .
یا یخبری از خود واز کار جهان:

CXIII
(No. 618).

BN II. 58; R I. 239; Bodl. I. 122; BN IVa. 184.
Bodl. II. 316, in part; Calc. I. 368; Br. M. III. 331; Br. M. II. 454.

آنرا که وقوفت بر احوال^۱ جهان
شادی و غم جهان^۲ برو شد یکسان^۳
چون نیک و بد جهان بسر خواهد شد
خواهی همه درد باش خواهی^۴ درمان

^۱ BN II, Bodl.I, BN IVa: — ^۲ BN IVa: شادی غم جهان: اسرار — ^۳ Bodl. II, Br. M. III: شادی و غم ورنج — ^۴ Bodl. II, Br. M. III: آسان. — ^۴ BN II, R I, Bodl. I: و خواهی. In Bodl. II the two first hemistichs, closing the page, are followed by two hemistichs belonging to another quatrain; a leaf has probably been lost.

CXIV
(No. 624).

BN II. 36; R I. 259; Bodl. I. 130; BN IVa. 197.
Bodl. II. 321; Calc. I. 360; Br. M. III. 337; Br. M. II. 465.

از آمدن و رفتن ما سودی کو
وز تار وجود عمر ما^۱ پودی کو
در چنبر چرخ جان^۲ چندین پاکان^۳
ی سوزد و خاک میشود دودی کو

^۱ Bodl. II, Br. M. III: وز تار امید در جهان — ^۲ Bodl. II: در چنبر چرخ جان — ^۳ R I, Bodl. I, BN IVa: از گردش چرخ جان, چندین سروپای نازنین جهان, taken from LXXVII (no. 40).

CXV
(No. 627).

R I. 257; BN III. 13; BN IVb. 198;
Bodl. II. 320; Calc. I. 359; Br. M. III. 336; Br. M. II. 457.

آن قصر که بر^۱ چرخ همیزد پهلو
بر درگه او شهان^۲ نهادندی رو
دیدیم که بر^۳ کنگره اش فاخته
بنشسته همیگفت که کو کو کو کو

^۱ Bodl. II, Br. M. III: — ^۲ BN IVb: — ^۳ R I:
دیدم بسر.

CXVI

(Nr. 690).

BN II. 249; R I. 302; BN IVb. 213.

Bodl. II. 355; Calc. I. 393; Br. M. III. 373; Br. M. II. 504.

تا چند ز یاسین و برات ای ساقی
بنویس بمیخانه برات ای ساقی
روزی که برات^۱ ما بمیخانه برنده^۲
آنروز به از شب برات ای ساقی

^۱ Bodl. II: — ^۲ BN II, BN IVb, Bodl. II, Br. M. III: بود.

CXVII

(No. 698).

BN II. 103; R I. 310; BN IVb. 246.

Calc. I. 409; Br. M. III. 381; MA. 271; Br. M. II. 513.

در کارگه کوزه گری^۱ کردم رای
در پایه^۲ چرخ دیدم استاد پای
میکرد دلیر^۳ کوزه را دسته و سر^۴
از کلتہ پادشاه واز پای^۵ گدای

^۱ In BN II گری is omitted by inadvertency. — ^۲ BN II,
BN IVb: — ^۳ BN IVb, Br. M. III, MA: — ^۴ MA:
دست — ^۵ Br. M. III, MA: دست.

CXVIII

(No. 712).

BN II. 216; R I. 328; BN IV b. 250.

Bodl. II. 405; Calc. I. 415; Br. M. III. 387; MA. 273; Br. M. II. 524.

هنجام صبح^۱ ای صنم فرخ پی
بر ساز ترانه و پیش^۲ آور می
کافگند بخاک صد هزاران جم و کی
این آمدن تیرمه و رفتن دی

^۱ MA: — . صبحی: ^۲ Br. M. III: ترانه و به پیش: .

CXIX

(No. 734).

BN II. 235; R I. 307; BN IV b. 257.

Bodl. II. 386; Calc. I. 427; Br. M. III. 400; MA. 279; Br. M. I. 268; Br. M. II. 527.

خواهی که اساس عمر^۱ محکم یابی
یکچند بعالم دل بی غم^۲ یابی
فارغ^۳ منشین ز خوردن باده و می
تا لذت عمر خود دمامد یابی

^۱ Br. M. III: — . عشق: ^۲ RI: دهر: Br. M. I: — . غافل: ^۳ BN IVb: خرم: .

CXX

(No. 744).

BN II. 344; R I. 298; BN IV b. 248.

Bodl. II. 385; Calc. I. 430; MA. 280; Br. M. II. 539.

با ما^۱ تو هر آنچه گوئی ازکین گوئی
پیوسته مرا ملحد و بیدین^۲ گوئی
من خود مقرم بدانچه هستم^۳ لیکن^۴
انصاف بده ترا رسد کین گوئی

^۱ Bodl. II, MA: . . . — ^۲ BN II: MA: . . . —
^۳ RI: . . . — ^۴ MA: . . .

CXXI

(No. 745).

BN II. 242; R I. 286; BN IV b. 259.

Calc. I. 431; MA. 281; Br. M. I. 264; Br. M. II. 540.

از آمدن بهار واز رفتن دی
 اوراق وجود ما همیگردد طی
 می خور خور اندوه که گفتست حکیم
 غمهای جهان چو زهر و تریاکش ^۱ می

^۱ MA: تریاکم.

TRANSLATION

I.

In my head may there be desire for the houri-like
idols. In my hand may there be the grape-juice through-
out the year.

People say to me: "May God give thee repentance!"
He will not give it. I will not practise it. May it be far
from me!

II.

I drink wine, and my opponents from left and right
say: "Do not drink wine, for it is the foe of faith."

Now that I know that wine is the foe of faith, by Allah!
I will drink the blood of the foe, for that is lawful.

III.

Khayyám, if thou art drunk with wine, be merry! If
thou art sitting with a tulip-cheek, be merry!

Do not be sorry that thou shalt be naught to-morrow:
imagine thou art not, whilst thou art, and be merry!

IV.

They say; there will be a paradise and black-eyed
maidens, and in that place there will be wine and milk
and honey.¹

Therefore we ought not to be without wine and beloved
ones, seeing that things will be the same after death.

¹ Qur'án, 55. 72; 47. 16–17.

V.

Of all those who have departed on that long journey,
where is the one who has come back to tell us the secret?

Well then! At the end of this double road of desire
and want see that thou hast not left anything [undone],
for thou shalt not come back.

VI.

To speak the truth and not as a metaphor, we are
the pieces of the game and Heaven the player.

We play a little game on the chessboard of existence.
Then we go back to the box of non-existence, one by one.

VII.

Before a night-attack is made upon my head, order
them to bring rose-coloured wine.

Thou are not gold, o heedless fool, that they should
hide thee in the earth and dig thee up again.

VIII.

One cup of wine is worth a hundred hearts and faiths,
one draught of wine is worth the kingdom of China.

Apart from ruby wine there is not on the surface of the
earth anything bitter¹ that is worth a thousand sweet lives.

IX.

Since our stay in this world is not a permanent rest, it
is a great mistake [to live] without wine and a beloved one.

How long shall I be in hope and fear as to [the pro-
blem] of "beginningless" or "begun"? When I am gone,
what matter whether the world has a beginning or not?

X.

This reason that walks the path of happiness, a
hundred times a day it says to thee:

¹ The Persians do not like the taste of wine.

"Find out this one moment of thy lifetime, for thou art not like those pot-herbs which are picked and grow again."

XI.

They tell me that the drinker is a denizen of Hell. That is an absurd saying, to which the heart can give no credence.

If the lover and the drinker are to be denizens of Hell, thou shalt to-morrow see Paradise [empty] as the palm of [my] hand.

XII.

From the account-book of life we must be wiped out; by the claw of death we must meet our ruin.

O sweet-faced Sáqí¹, do not sit idle, bring me the fluid, for [one day] we must become dust.

XIII.

Sit down with wine, for this is the kingdom of Maḥmúd². And listen to the sound of the lute, for this is the melody of David.

Over things not yet come and things already gone do not ponder. Be merry, for this is the meaning of life.

XIV.

In the wine-house we cannot perform the ablution but with wine. And that reputation which has grown bad cannot be made good again.

Be merry, for this our veil of modesty has become so badly torn that it cannot be repaired.

XV.

Know that thou shalt depart, deprived of thy soul; thou shalt go behind the veil of the mystery of annihilation.

¹ Skinker.

² Sultán Maḥmúd of Ghazna (A. D. 998—1030), the patron of Fir-dawsí.

Drink wine: thou knowest not whence thou art come.
Be merry! thou knowest not whither thou shalt go.

XVI.

Do not follow the Sunna and do not care for the commands of faith, but withhold not from anyone that morsel which thou hast in possession.

Speak not slander, nor afflict the heart of anyone, then I warrant thee yonder world. Bring wine!

XVII.

If they adorn the world for thy benefit, strive not after such things, after which wise men do not strive.

Many like thyself are going, and many are coming.
Snatch thy share, for [some day] they will snatch thee away.

XVIII.

As often as ever I gaze on all sides, there flows in the garden a stream of the waters of Kawthar¹.

The desert is become like Paradise. Speak not of Hell. Sit down in [this] paradise with a being with a paradisaic face.

XIX.

From all that is not amusing abstinence is best. And wine, served with the hand of the idols in the tent is best.

Drunkenness and vagrancy and erring from the path are best. One draught is best from Moon [above] to the Fish [below]².

XX.

Wine is forbidden, it is true, but the question is: who drinks? and then how much? and how and with whom he drinks?

When those four conditions are observed altogether, then, if a wise man does not drink, who drinks?

¹ A river in Paradise.

² Word-play on máh, "the Moon", and máhi, the mythical fish upon which the world reposes.

XXI.

How long [this talk of] the lamps of the mosque and
the smoke of the fire-temple? How long of the losses of
Hell and the profits of Paradise?

Go and look at the tablets [of Fate], for the Master of
the pen has written from eternity all that must be.

XXII.

Alas for that heart in which there is no fire [of love],
which is not struck with distress for a heart-cheering
being!

The day that thou spendest without wine, no day is
more lost to thee than that day.

XXIII.

The breath of the breeze of New Year on the face of
the rose is charming. The face of the heart-cheering one,
hidden amidst the flowers of the meadow, is charming.

What thou sayest of Yesterday, that is gone, is not
charming. Be merry, and speak not of Yesterday, for To-
day is charming.

XXIV.

O Wheel of Heaven: I am not satisfied with thy
rotation. Why dost thou give me advice? I am immune
to advice.

If thou fanciest ignoramuses and good-for-nothings, lo!
I am not such a good and wise man either.

XXV.

They say: "Do not drink wine in the month of Sha'bán;
it is not lawful. Nor in Rajab, for that is God's special
month."

Sha'bán and Rajab are the months of God and the

Prophet; so let us drink wine in Ramadhán, for that is our special month¹.

XXVI.

O Friend, come, let us not grieve for To-morrow, but count this one moment of our life a gain.

To-morrow, when we depart from this old inn, we shall be the road-fellows of the travellers of seven thousand years.

XXVII.

O thou who art the product of the four and the seven², and who art constantly aglow owing to the seven and the four,

Drink wine, for already a thousand times I have said to thee: there is no return for thee; when thou art gone, thou art gone.

XXVIII.

If we get but a loaf of wheaten-bread, a gourd of wine and a leg of mutton,

and if I and thou be sitting in the wilderness, that were a treat beyond the powers of most sultans.

XXIX.

In cell and college and monastery and synagogue there are fearers of Hell and seekers of Paradise.

The person who has knowledge of the secrets of God sows nothing of this seed within his heart.

XXX.

No one has ever made his way to a rosy cheek, but a thorn, at the hand of Time, made its way to his heart.

Likewise the comb: not ere its head has been split into a thousand tines will its hand reach the ringlet of a fair one.

¹ In Ramadhán, the fasting-month, even the drinking of water is prohibited from sunrise to sunset.

² The four elements and the seven planets. Man is composed of the four elements, and, according to the principles of astrology, the constellations determine the destiny of each human being.

XXXI.

The days of Time are ashamed of him who is sitting heart-sick, heavy with grief of the days.

Drink wine out of the glass, whilst thou listeneth to the elegy of the lute, before the glass is flung against the stone.

XXXII.

Since my coming was not of my own choosing from the first day, and my going has been irrevocably fixed without my will,

arise and gird thy loins, o nimble Sáqí, for I will wash down the grief of the world with wine.

XXXIII.

O heart, thou arrivest not at the secrets of the mystery, thou arrivest not at the nice distinctions of the subtle thinkers.

Prepare a paradise here with wine and cup, for thither were Paradise is, thou mayst arrive—or mayst not arrive.

XXXIV.

If my coming had depended on me, I had not come, and if, again, my going had depended on me, why should I go?

Were it not better, if in this growth and decay I had not come, nor gone, nor been?

XXXV.

This wheel of Heaven, for the sake of my destruction and thine, has designs upon my pure soul and thine.

Sit down on the grass, o idol, for it will not be long ere grass shall spring from my dust and thine.

XXXVI.

Against the stone, last night, I flung the wine-bowl of faience. I was drunk when I did that brutal action.

The bowl said to me in the language of bowls: "I was what thou art, thou also shall be what I am."

XXXVII.

Like the water of the river and like the wind of the desert, another day of my life-time has passed.

For two days I never cared: the day that has not come, and the day that has gone.

XXXVIII.

This jar was like me a sorrowful lover, and it was in search of the face of a fair one.

This handle that thou seeest upon its neck is a hand that [once] lay upon the neck of a friend.

XXXIX.

If, in the time of spring, an idol, houri-shaped, gives me a cup of wine on the bank of the field,

— however much this saying may jar on the ears of the vulgar — I were worse than a dog, cared I for Paradise.

XL.

When I am cast headlong into the grave of my hope, and I am like a plucked bird under the hand of Death,

take care! from my clay make nothing but a wine-bottle. Perhaps, when I am filled with wine, I may revive.

XLI.

The Qur'án, which people call the Best Word, they read it from time to time, not constantly.

On the lines of the cup a sacred verse is engraved which they read everywhere and always.

XLII.

Drink wine, for it will relieve thee of the Too-much and the Too-little, and it will relieve thee of all care for the seventy-two sects.

Avoid not that philosopher's stone, for if thou drinkest one *man*¹ thereof, it will relieve thee of a thousand maladies.

¹ A weight which varies in the different parts of Persia. A "royal *man*" is about $6\frac{1}{2}$ kilogr.

XLIII.

This vault [of Heaven] is like an inverted bowl, under which all the wise have become helpless captives.

Look at the friendship of bottle and cup: their lips meet, yet there is [red] blood between them.

XLIV.

In the castle where Bahrám seized his wine-cup, the fox litters and the gazelle lies at rest.

Bahrám spent his whole life in catching wild asses (*gūr*); and lo! to day the tomb (*gūr*) has caught Bahrám.¹

XLV.

It is better that thou fliest from all the lore of the sciences. It is better that thou seizest the tip of the lock of the charmer.

Ere Time shall shed thy blood, it is better that thou sheddest the blood of the refining vessel² into the cup.

XLVI.

In every plain where there was a tulip-bed, the tulips have sprung from the blood of a king³.

Every shoot of the violet which grows from the earth is a beauty-spot that has [once] been on the cheek of a fair one.

¹ Bahrám V, Persian king, of the Sásánian dynasty, who reigned from 420 to 438 A. D. He was surnamed Gór (new Persian Gúr), "the Wild Ass", because of his strength and dexterity. A later legend attributes this surname to his fondness for hunting wild asses. Another Persian word *gūr* means "tomb".

² *Qarábā* is "a large flagon or vessel having two handles and a spout (made of glass, in which wine is left standing forty days in order to refine)". Steingass.

³ From the blood of the murdered legendary hero Siyáwush a plant grew out of the ground. (Firdawsí, Sháhnáma, Vullers, p. 664, verse 2514).

XLVII.

It is the time of dawn. Arise, thou quintessence of loveliness! Gently, gently, drink wine and play the lute, for those who are present will not stay long; of those who are gone none will come back.

XLVIII.

Those who are become the slaves of intellect and argument, in anxious ponderings over existence and non-existence they are become naught.

Go, thou know-nothing, and choose the juice of the [ripe] grapes, for those know-nothings from eating the unripe grapes [of wisdom] are become [like] dry raisins.

XLIX.

The wine, although in the Holy Law it has a bad reputation, is delightful. When it is offered at the hand of the beloved one and the slave, it is delightful.

It is bitter, and it is forbidden, and yet it is dear to me. That is a truth from of old: all that is forbidden is delightful.

L.

Since nobody gives [thee] surety of To-morrow, by now make merry this sorrowful heart.

Drink wine by the light of the moon, o Moon, for many times the moon will shine, and it will not find us here.

LI.

When at New Year the cloud has washed the face of the tulip, arise and seize the cup of wine with a firm resolution,

for this green-sward that is to-day a feast for our eyes shall grow, to morrow, from thy dust.

LII.

If I tell Thee my secrets in the tavern, it is better than to perform the prayer in the mihráb¹ without Thee.

O Thou, the beginning and the end of all creation, burn me, if such is Thy will, cherish me, if such is Thy will.

LIII.

How long shall we be captives in the prison of every-day reason? What matter whether we have come into the world for a hundred years or for one day?

Pour wine into the cup, before we become pots in the workshop of the potters.

LIV.

Drink wine, for under the clay thou shalt sleep for long without friend and companion and fellow and wife.

Take care! do not tell to anyone this hidden secret: the tulip once withered will not blossom again.

LV.

I know not whether He who moulded me has pre-destined me to be one of the people of Paradise or a dweller of hideous Hell.

A meal, an idol, and wine on the bank of the field, these three are cash to me; thine be an order for Paradise.

LVI.

Go! throw dust upon the head of the heavens and the world. Drink ever wine and hover about the fair-faced ones.

What place is there for worship? what place for prayer? for of all those who are gone not one has come back.

¹ The prayer-niche indicating the direction of Mecca.

LVII.

As far as thou canst, do service to the drunkards; lay waste the foundations of prayer and fasting.

Hear then this true word from 'Umar-i-Khayyám: "Drink wine, be a highwayman, but do good."

LVIII.

The celestial sphere is a girdle enclosing our tormented life. The river Oxus is the trace of our [blood]-mingled tears.

Hell is a spark from our absurd sufferings, Paradise a moment of our time of rest.

LIX.

I dropped asleep. A wise man said to me: "From sleep the rose of pleasure did never bloom for anyone.

Why do you meddle with that which is of a piece with death? Drink wine for we must sleep during many a lifetime."

LX.

Every draught that the Sáqí sheds upon the earth stifles the fire of anguish in a burning eye.

God be praised! is then the water that frees thy heart from a hundred pains nothing but air to thee?¹

LXI.

Behind the veil of the secrets there is no way for anybody. Of this scheme of things the soul of no man has any knowledge.

There is no dwelling-place except in the heart of the dust. Drink wine, for such tales are not short to tell.

LXII.

To-day thou hast no power over To-morrow, and the thought of To-morrow is to thee nothing but melancholy.

¹ The mention of the four elements in a quatrain is a subtlety highly appreciated by the Persians. Of course the "water" means wine.

Do not forfeit this moment if thy heart be not insane,
for the worth of the rest of thy life is not evident.

LXIII.

Whosoever has got imprinted on his heart one character
of the script of reason has not lost one moment of his life,
whether he strives to live after the pleasing of God, or
he chooses his own comfort and raises the wine-cup.

LXIV.

How long shall I pile up bricks upon the surface of
the sea? I am sick of the idolaters of the temple.

Who has said that Khayyám shall be a denizen of
Hell? Who has ever gone to Hell and who has come
from Paradise?

LXV.

I laid my lip to the lip of the wine-cup in the utmost
desire to seek from it the means of prolonging life.

It laid its lip to my lip and said mysteriously: "During
a whole life I was like thee; rejoice for a while in my
company."

LXVI.

Here we are, and the wine and the bench of the tavern
and the furnace in ruins. We have put soul and heart
and cup and cloak in pledge for wine

and got rid of the hope of mercy and the fear of punishment.
Careless we are of earth and air and fire and
water.¹

LXVII.

Khayyám, who was stitching the tents of wisdom, fell into
the furnace of affliction and was burnt all of a sudden.

The shears of death cut the tent-rope of his life. The
broker of hope sold him for nothing.

¹ Vide note to no. LX.

LXVIII.

Yesterday I saw a potter in the bazar. He beat the fresh clay with many strokes,

and that clay said to him in its own language: "Once I was [a being] like thee; so treat me gently."

LXIX.

Drink of that wine which is eternal life. It is the capital of the pleasure of youth, therefore drink!

It burns like fire, but like the water of life it alleviates sorrow. Therefore drink!

LXX.

Nobody, since the revolving sphere has been visible on heaven, has seen anything that is better than ruby wine.

I wonder at the wine-sellers, for what will they buy that is better than that which they sell?

LXXI.

We cannot consume our merry heart with grief and tear asunder the time of our happiness against the rock of affliction.

Who knows what will happen in time? Wine is what we need, and the beloved one and repose after satisfied desires.

LXXII.

We have returned to the habit of debauchery. We renounce the five daily prayers.

Wherever there is a goblet, thou mayst see us with our necks stretched like the neck of the bottle towards it.

LXXIII.

How long [shall we listen to] traditions about eternity to come and eternity past? Theory as well as practice are beyond the measure of my ability.

In the hour of joy there is no substitute for wine.
Wine settles all difficulties.

LXXIV.

O friend, never again shalt thou rebuke drunkards. If He makes me repentant, then I shall show repentance towards God.

Be not arrogant, saying: "I do not drink wine." Thou dost do a hundred things in comparison to which wine-drinking is but child's play.

LXXV.

This night I will fetch a cup that measures one *man*¹.
I will make myself rich with two half *mans* of wine.

First, by thrice repeating the formula of divorce, I will repudiate reason and faith; then I will marry the daughter of the grape.

LXXVI.

When I am dead, wash me with wine, make over me a funeral oration of wine and cup.

If you want to find me on the day of resurrection, seek me in the dust before the door of the wine-house.

LXXVII.

It is not allowable for a man, [even when] drunk, to destroy the composition of a cup which he has put together.

So many fair heads and feet, formed by His hand, for love of whom did He make them? and for hate of whom did He destroy them?

LXXVIII.

O wheel of heaven, ruin springs from thy hatred.
From time immemorial thy business was to do wrong.

O earth, if they cleave thy heart, how many a precious stone is to be found in thy bosom?

¹ Vide note to no XLII.

LXXIX.

Everyone into whose heart love and friendship have been kneaded, be he¹ one of the people of the prayer-mat or one of the people of the church,

Everyone whose name is entered in the account-book of love is free from Hell and independent of Paradise.

LXXX.

Of that circle which encloses our coming and going we can make out neither beginning nor end.

Nobody can utter a single word rightly to explain the mystery, whence is our coming, and whither our going.

LXXXI.

All that green-sward which grows on the bank of the rivulet has grown, as it were, on the lip of a beeing of angelic nature.

Put not thy foot on the grass in contempt, for that grass has grown from the dust of a moon-face.

LXXXII.

This anxiety for money and this grief over the world, what is it all? Never hast thou seen a man who did live eternally.

With those one or two breaths which thy body has borrowed shalt thou deal as with a thing lent to thee, being thyself a loan.

LXXXIII.

Good and evil that are in the nature of man, joy and grief that are in fate and predestination,

do not impute them to the wheel of Heaven, for in the way of reason the wheel is a thousand times more helpless than thou art.

¹ básh pro báshad, vide Vullers, Lex. I, p. 176.

LXXXIV.

When I drink wine it is not for the sake of merrymaking, nor because I am a reprobate, reckless of faith and morality.

I wish to escape for a moment from myself; this is the motive of my wine-bibbing and drunkenness.

LXXXV.

Since the Lord Himself has mixed the ingredients of human nature, why did He afterwards subject them to decay and ruin?

If the result was good, why then break it up? and if these creatures proved failures, who is to blame in the matter?

LXXXVI.

Before I and thou were born, night and day existed, and the revolving sky was at work too.

Take care, put thy foot lightly on the dust, for once it was the apple of the eye of a fair being.

LXXXVII.

At the banquet of Wisdom, Reason gave an excellent demonstration [and] spoke among Greeks and Arabs right and left (*maisara*):

"If an ignorant person said that wine is not good (unlawful), how should I listen [to him], since God has said '*maisara*'?"¹

LXXXVIII.

One draught of wine is better than the kingdom of Ká'ús, and it is better than the throne of Qubád and the estates of Tús.²

¹ For the correct rendering of this quatrain I am indebted to Professor Nicholson. The word *maisara* "ease", "prosperity", occurs in the Qur'án S. 2. 280, but it has also the sense of "left", and read in Persian *mai sara* means "wine [is] good".

² [Kai] Ká'ús and [Kai] Qubád are Persian kings and Tús a prince and war-hero from the legendary times.

Every love-lament that a drunkard raises at dawn is better than the cry of the hypocritical zealots.

LXXXIX.

The rain-cloud is come and has shed its doleful tears all over the grass. It is not suitable to live without the rose-coloured wine.

This grass is to-day a feast for our eyes; the grass that shall grow from our dust, for whose eyes shall it be a feast?¹

XC.

When God prepared the clay of our existence, He knew what would be the outcome of our actions.

Not one of my sins has been committed without His order; why then will he burn me on the day of resurrection?

XCI.

From of old the scheme of all that must be has existed. The pen of destiny has written good and evil without ceasing.

He has appointed in predestination all that must come. We distress and bestir ourselves, but all to no avail.

XCII.

I am a disobedient servant; where are the means of pleasing Thee? In the treasure of my heart where is Thy light and clearness?

If Thou givest us Paradise as a reward for our obedience, it is a mere bargain. What then becomes of Thy mercy and beneficence?

XCIII.

When life vanishes, what then is Baghdád, what is Balkh? When the measure of our cup is full, what matter if the drink be sweet or bitter?

¹ Compare no. LI.

Drink wine, for after me and thee this moon will pass many times from the last day of the month to the first of the next and from the first to the last.

XCIV.

To Heaven it was of no profit to bring me hither, and to take me away could not increase its magnificence and its dignity.

Nor have my two ears ever heard from anyone for what reason it brings me and takes me away.

XCV.

He who built the earth and the sky and [all] the heavens, with how many a brand did He mark the sorrowful hearts!

Many a ruby lip and many a musky lock did He hide in the [hollow] drum of earth and the box of dust.

XCVI.

The sun has thrown the lasso of dawn over the roof. The Kai Khusraw¹ of the day has poured wine in the cup².

Drink wine, for the broker of morning-time has arisen and has flung out among the days the cry of "Drink!"

XCVII.

This caravan of life passes by like a wonder. Mayst thou discover the moment that passes by with delight.

Sáqí, why dost thou trouble thyself with the To-morrow of thy fellows? Bring a cup, for the night passes by.

XCVIII.

Beware! give me nourishment from the wine-cup, and make this amber face [of mine red] as ruby.

¹ Kai Khusraw is one of the most celebrated legendary kings of Persia, the son and avenger of the murdered Siyáwush (cf. the note to no. XLVI).

² i. e. has filled the cup-like sky with ruddy light (Nicholson, A. & C. Black edition of the Rubáiyát, p. 119).

When I shall depart this life, wash me with wine, and make from the wood of the wine the planks of my coffin.

XCIX.

My soul cleaves to a face like the rose; my hand cleaves to the wine-cup.

Of all the parts [of the totality] I will take my share, before the parts shall be merged in the totality.

C.

If thou sprinklest wine on the mountain, it dances. A defective man is he who is deficient in wine.

Why dost thou command me to repent of wine? Wine is that spirit which brings out personality.

CI.

The brick that is placed upon the jar is sweeter than the kingdom of Jam. The odour from the cup is sweeter than the food of Maria¹.

A morning-sigh from the breast of a drunkard is sweeter than the elegies of Bú Sa'íd and Adham².

CII.

It is morning-time. Arise, o wonderful youth: fill the crystalline cup with ruby wine,

for that one moment we have borrowed in this corner of annihilation — long shalt thou seek for it, and thou shalt not find it again.

¹ Jam or Jamshíd was a legendary king under whose rule immortality reigned on earth. — Maria, mother of Jesus, was lying near the trunk of a palm-tree, when the pains of childbirth came upon her; then God provided a rivulet at her feet and let ripe dates fall from the tree, in order that she might eat and drink (*Qur'án*, S. 19. 24–26).

² Abú Sa'íd b. Abi'l-Khayr († A. D. 1049) and Ibráhím Adham († circ. A. D. 777) are famous Súfi mystics. Abú Sa'íd has composed a number of mystical rubá'ís.

CIII.

Since the outcome of human existence in this inn with two gates is nothing but a bleeding heart and the surrender of life,

happy is the heart of the man whom nobody knows, and at peace the man who was never born of a mother.

CIV.

Though I never threaded the bead of obedience to Thee and never wiped off the dust of sin from my face,

none the less I am not hopeless of Thy mercy, because I never called the One Two.

CV.

In a state of drunkenness I passed by the wine-house last night. I saw an old man drunk and with a jar on his shoulder.

I said: "Art thou not ashamed before God, o old man?" He said: "Mercy comes from God, drink wine and be silent."

CVI.

I said: "Nevermore will I drink ruby wine, for wine is the blood of the vine, and henceforth I will not drink blood."

Old man reason asked me: "Art thou in earnest?" I answered: "I only spoke in jest. How could I refrain from drinking?"

CVII.

May my heart always be set on unmixed wine! May my ear always listen to the flute and the rebeck!

If the potters are to turn my dust into a jar, may that jar always be full of wine!

CVIII.

The Holy Book in one hand and the cup in the other,

I am now a follower of things permitted, now of things forbidden.

We are, beneath this turquoise-coloured marble-vault, neither absolute heathens, nor perfect Muslims.

CIX.

So far as in thee lies, be not without wine for one moment, for through wine reason and heart and faith become merry.

If Iblís had drunk but one draught of wine, he would have prostrated himself two thousand times before Adam¹.

CX.

The secrets of eternity past neither dost thou know, nor do I, and the word that solves the riddle neither canst thou speak, nor can I.

There is behind the veil some talk about me and thee. When the veil is drawn aside, neither dost thou remain, nor do I.

CXI.

It is a disgrace to be known as a man of good name. It is shameful to grieve at the tyranny of the wheel of fate.

To be drunk with the flavour of the grape-juice is better than to pride oneself on an ascetic life.

CXII.

Since the outcome for man in this salt-marsh is nothing but to suffer grief or to uproot one's soul,

happy is the heart of the man who passes quickly from this world, and at peace the man who came not at all into the world.²

¹ Iblís (the devil), at first one of the angels, became accursed because he refused to worship Adam (Qur'án, 2.32; 7.10; 15.31-33; 17.63-65; 18.48; 20.115; 38.74).

² Compare no. CIII.

CXIII.

To him who has a knowledge of the conditions of the world, the joy and grief of the world have become all the same.

Since the good and the bad of the world will be all over, well! be all pain, then, or all remedy.

CXIV.

Where is the profit of our coming or going? and where is the woof to the warp of the stuff of our life?

In the hoop of the wheel of Heaven the souls of so many pure beings burn and become ashes, and where is the smoke?

CXV.

Yon castle which reared its wings heavenwards, and in whose audience-hall kings prostrated themselves [to do homage],

on its pinnacle I saw a ring-dove sit cooing: “where? where? where? where?”¹

CXVI.

How long [this talk] about Yá Sín and Barát², o Sáqí?
Draw a draft (*barát*) on the wine-house, o Sáqí.

The day on which they give us a permit (*barát*) for the wine-house, that day will be better than the night of Barát³, o Sáqí.

¹ In Persian: kú kú kú kú.

² Yá Sín is the 36th and Al-Barát the 9th súra of the Qur'án.

³ I owe to Professor Nicholson the following information concerning the “night of Barát”: *Shab-i-Barát* (Arabic ليلة البارات) is the night of the 14th Sha'bán, on which “the fate of every living man is confirmed for the ensuing year” (see Lane, Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, II, p. 229, where this night is called *Leylet en-Noosf min Shaaba'n*). The *barát* refers to the “patent” conferring exemption from death for a certain period. The correct rendering, I think, is “the night of (granting) the patent of immunity”.

CXVII.

In the work-shop of a potter I grew meditative. I saw
the master with his foot on the treadle of the wheel.

Boldly he prepared for the jar handle and neck from
the skulls of kings and the feet of beggars.

CXVIII.

At the time of the morning-draught, o my beloved,
harbinger of luck, strike up a tune and serve the wine,

for this coming of the month of Tír and that going of
Dai¹ has struck to the ground a hundred thousand Jams
and Kais².

CXIX.

If thou wishest to lay a firm foundation for life, seek
out a carefree moment in the heart's world.

Do not sit idle without drinking wine and grape-juice,
so that thou mayest find pleasure at any moment.

CXX.

All that thou sayest to us, it is out of hatred that thou
sayest it. Always thou callest me an heretic and an infidel.

I admit all that I am, but, honestly, art thou the one
to say so?

CXXI.

By the coming of spring and the going of Dai³ we
have finished turning over the leaves of the book of our
existence.

Taste wine and do not taste sorrow, for the philoso-
pher has said: "The griefs of the world are like poison,
and the antidote is wine".

¹ Tir is the 4th and Dai the 10th month of the Zoroastrian solar
year that begins with the Nowruz festival at vernal equinox.

² Jam, cf. note to no. CI; Kai (Khusraw), cf. note to no. XCVI.

³ Vide note to CXVIII.

APPENDIX

CONCORDANCE OF THE PRINCIPAL TEXTS OF THE RUBÁ'İYÁT OF 'UMAR-I-KHAYYÁM

This list comprises all the quatrains contained in the eighteen texts which have served as a basis for my investigations, in the lithographed Lucknow edition of 1894 (L.) and in the editions of Whinfield (W.) and Nicolas. The edition of Nicolas has been indicated only in the case of those quatrains which do not occur in any other of my texts; as to the others I refer the reader to the concordance given in my "Recherches sur les Rubā'iyāt de 'Omar Hayyām" (Heidelberg 1904), pp. 135 et seq., which contains also the correspondence of the quatrains of the editions of Lucknow (1883 and 1894) Bombay (1890) and Stamboul (1901).

Group	A 1	A 2	A 3	B			C
				
186	..	..	..	..	..	..	186
187	..	..	..	..	..	..	187
188	284	..	..	..	..	..	188
189	3	261	..	..	..	..	189
190	..	..	..	..	..	..	190
191	..	305	9	..	..	..	191
192	34	126	25	..	..	..	192
193	62	18	17	..	..	..	193
194	..	25	53	..	..	..	194
195	..	35	38	..	..	..	195
196	..	38	42	..	..	..	196
197	212	..	..	..	..	..	197
198	32	220	23	..	..	..	198
199	183	148	59	..	..	..	199
200	184	228	43	..	27	29	200
201	..	42	33	..	..	..	201
202	..	166	55	..	..	..	202
203	..	120	21	..	..	..	203
204	..	..	1	76	..	..	204
205	..	..	..	..	..	..	205
206	..	..	..	..	..	..	206
207	..	..	..	..	..	..	207
208	..	..	..	..	..	..	208
209	..	..	..	..	..	..	209
210	156	{ 48 } 13	..	12	..	..	210
211	..		..	..	..	..	211

	BN I	R II	Calc. II	BN III	Calc. I	Bodl. I	BN IVa	BN IVb	Bodl. II	Calc. I	Bodl. III	BN V	R II	R III	W.	L.			
212	112	..	156	77	65	86	116	..	..	..	212		
213	..	304 in part	..	..	..	..	114	109	158	79	66	88	118	..	..	..	213	
214	192	201	29	..	..	18	20	..	116	111	160	97	114	..	123	..	214	
215	190	149	74	..	..	42	45	..	117	112	161	98	105	..	124	..	215	
216	58	193	22	..	..	10	12	..	118	..	162	99	106	89	125	..	216	
217	..	23	66	..	..	..	..	49	119	113	163	..	107	90	..	..	217	
218	55	89	30	..	..	18	..	..	110	106	152	75	108	38	106	..	218	
219	120	114	184	100	70	91	135	..	219	
220	121	..	185	101	115	92	39	..	220	
221	122	115	186	102	116	93	136	..	221	
222	124	117	187	104	117	110	38	..	222	
223	123	116	190	103	120	29	140	..	223	
224	152	125	..	188	105	118	111	137	..	224
225	..	160	79	..	..	30	..	..	..	128	118	193	106	123	113	..	..	225
226	129	119	194	107	125	115	..	..	226	
227	..	183	80	..	..	46	64	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	227
228	47	65	..	130	120	195	108	126	116	152	..	228	
229	127	..	192	..	124	114	..	..	229	
230	230	
231	108	..	..	..	..	..	..	134	123	231	{112}{251}128	117	266	..	..	231	
232	..	55	125	..	..	51	69	..	135	124	232	113	129	..	153	..	..	232
233	136	125	..	114	130	..	154	..	233	
234	..	134	89	..	..	..	..	..	102	140	126	..	115	134	..	267	..	234
235	..	320	110	..	..	..	..	..	112	141	127	235	116	136	..	165	..	235

	R I	BN II	Calc. II	BN III	BN IV _a	BN IV _b	Bodl. I	Bodl. II	Calc. I	Br. M. III	MA	Br. M. I	BN V	R II	R III	L.	
263	..	136	102	..	..	..	145	131	..	120	..	..	..	..	..	..	263
264	21	127	..	146	461	..	..	147	132	197	121	..	..	211	..	..	217
265	..	97	146	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	212	..	..	..	..	..	264
266	..	..	143	..	..	..	..	..	..	190	..	..	..	..	..	..	142
267	209	288	95	..	..	..	..	..	..	113	..	..	..	..	..	..	265
268	..	115	103	454	..	..	..	..	..	..	163	..	..	..	..	..	266
269	..	110	88	449	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	267
270	145	141	91	..	..	..	..	..	..	58	76	..	..	..	..	..	268
271	..	152	147	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	82	94	..	..	..	..	269
272	..	157	..	453	..	..	..	..	..	..	80	92	..	..	..	..	270
273	..	168	118	459	33	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	271
274	..	179	135	455	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	272
275	..	..	132	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	273
276	..	60	132	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	156	138	..	..	..	..	274
277	11	336	124	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	157	139	..	..	..	..	275
278	..	..	123	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	158	140	..	..	..	..	276
279	..	..	348	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	109	149	..	..	..	..	277
280	..	..	217	116	..	..	..	..	..	..	104	..	..	..	..	..	278
281	..	..	..	144	..	..	..	..	..	..	110	150	..	..	..	..	279
282	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	196	135	..	..	..	..	280
283	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	151	136	..	..	..	..	281
284	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	159	141	..	..	..	..	282
285	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	161	143	..	..	..	..	283
286	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	152	137	..	..	..	..	284

A3

A2

3

Group	A 1	A 2	B	C																											
					438	439	440	441	442	443	444	445	446	447	448	449	450	451	452	453	454	455	456	457	458	459	460	461	462	463	464
438
439	169	264	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
440	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
441	..	317	173	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
442	..	31	168	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
443	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
444
445
446
447
448	..	32	179	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
449
450
451
452
453
454	5	202	186	..	26	102	137	..	231	260	..	233	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	212	335	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
455
456
457
458
459
460
461
462	278	188	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
463
464

Group A 1 A 2 A 3

B

C

Group	A 1			A 2			A 3			B			C			
	646	647	648	649	650	651	652	653	654	655	656	657	658	659	660	
646	69	278	481	..	138	207	..	344	..	..	479	..	..	418	646	
647	160	236	267	..	16	..	..	348	..	..	260	474	..	..	407	
648	..	72	275	483	..	..	..	349	..	..	468	..	..	..	648	
649	349	..	..	469	..	..	..	649	
650	178	246	282	..	..	139	208	..	350	375	..	261	470	..	..	650
651	..	271	277	..	..	..	93	125	..	..	..	254	471	..	..	651
652	..	19	281	482	..	..	132	201	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	421
653	..	166	300	..	..	..	134	203	..	340	376	..	255	..	..	421
654	341	377	..	352	..	..	425
655	..	169	268	..	..	..	..	..	..	342	378	..	353	..	..	425
656	..	154	34	269	..	..	..	..	..	343	379	..	354	..	..	424
657	..	177	274	..	..	..	..	..	..	343	379	..	354	..	..	408
658	..	40	279	..	..	..	..	..	..	335	..	..	346	..	..	657
659	..	318	271	..	..	..	..	..	..	211	..	..	..	..	..	..
660	660
661	661
662	662
663	417
664	336	..	..	347	..	..	..
665	..	35	276	..	..	..	..	..	..	337	..	..	355	..	..	416
666	338	380	..	356	..	..	415
667	210	331	381	..	357	..	..
668	332	384	..	359	..	..	415
669	415
670	158	296	..	..	..	..	131	200	..	333	383	..	360	..	..	423
671	270	..	..	135	204	..	351	..	361	..	..	489	..	..
672	49	..	266	..	..	133	202	..	334	382	..	358	..	..	486	..
673	345	..	..	57	..	..	420

	BN I	BN II	Calc. II	BN III	Bodl. I	BN IVa	BN IVb	Bodl. II	Calc. I	Berl.	Br. M. III	MA	Br. M. I	BN V	R II	R III	W.	L.
674	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	259	..	..	..	..	..	413	674
675	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	494	..	..	..	..	..	..	675
676	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	406	676
677	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	677
678	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	678
679	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	215	353	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	679
680	..	258	..	..	..	..	..	216	..	399	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	680
681	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	359	400	..	..	..	..	..	..	681
682	51	..	315	..	..	..	..	..	..	360	401	..	..	..	..	..	..	682
683	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	361	402	..	366	264	..	..	..	683
684	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	366	404	..	368	..	..	..	..	684
685	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	367	389	..	369	265	..	..	..	685
686	..	252	306	..	..	..	..	..	..	368	390	..	370	..	..	..	..	686
687	22	260	..	..	..	..	..	140	212	..	354	398	..	..	..	..	..	687
688	..	257	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	214	369	391	..	371	266	..	..	688
689	..	259	309	..	..	..	..	..	..	213	355	393	..	372	..	..	..	689
690	..	249	302	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	356	394	..	373	..	..	..	690
691	..	215	316	..	..	..	..	..	..	249	357	395	..	..	..	..	..	691
692	..	..	312	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	692
693	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	693
694	14	..	321	..	..	156	265	..	..	396	..	..	..	..	376	..	..	478
695	174	..	303	289	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	377	..	..	695
696	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	379	..	..	696
697	109	229	320	..	24	155	262	..	406	408	..	380	270	265	512	25	..	697

Gr.	A 1	A 2	B	C
751	751
752	752
753	753
754	754
755	755
756	756
757	100	..	..	757
758	758
759	759
760	760
761	761
762	762
763	763
764	764
765	765
766	766
767	767
768	768
769	769
770	770
771	Bomb. 109
772
773
774
775
776
777
778	86	..	..	..

11*

Gr.	A 1	A 2	A 3	B		C
			
857	..	..	..	..	..	..
858	..	..	..	..	..	..
859	..	..	..	..	..	..
860	..	..	..	..	..	..
861	..	..	..	..	..	..
862	..	..	..	..	..	..
863	..	..	..	..	..	..
864	..	..	..	..	..	..
865	..	..	..	..	..	..
866	..	..	..	..	..	..
867	..	..	..	..	..	..
868	69	..	..	..	..	..
869	128	..	..	..	..	..
870	..	..	..	..	..	..
871	7	..	..	..	..	..
872	87	..	..	..	..	..
873	..	..	..	..	..	..
874	..	..	..	..	..	..
875	..	..	..	..	..	..
876	..	..	..	..	..	..
877	..	..	..	..	..	..
878	..	..	..	..	..	..
879	..	..	..	..	..	..
880	74	..	..	..	..	..
881	..	..	..	..	..	..
882	1	277	..	..	..	..
883	..	..	..	..	..	..
884	..	..	..	..	..	..
885	..	..	..	..	..	..

Nic. 144

C

B

A 3

A 2

Gr. A 1

	A 1	A 2	B	C
912				
913		41		
914				
915				
916				
917	67			
918				
919				
920				
921				
922				
923				
924	77			
925		16		
926				
927	15			
928				
929				
930				
931	50	111		
932				
933				
934		92	114	
935	102			
936				
937		143	3	
938				
939				

		W.	Nic. 154. Nic. 155
940	85	..	204
941	..	R III	..
942	..	R II	..
943	..	BN V	..
944	..	Br. M. II	..
945	..	Br. M. I	..
946	..	MA	..
947	..	Br. M. III	..
948	..	Berl.	..
949	..	Cale. I	..
950	..	Bodl. II	..
951	..	BN IVb	..
952	..	BN IVa	..
953	..	Bodl. I	..
954	153	BN III	..
955	..	Cale. II	..
956	..	R I	..
957	..	BN II	..
958	..	BN I	..
959	394
960
961	202
962
963	204
964
965	57

Gr.	A 1	A 2	B	C
			A 3	
966				
967				
968				
969				
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